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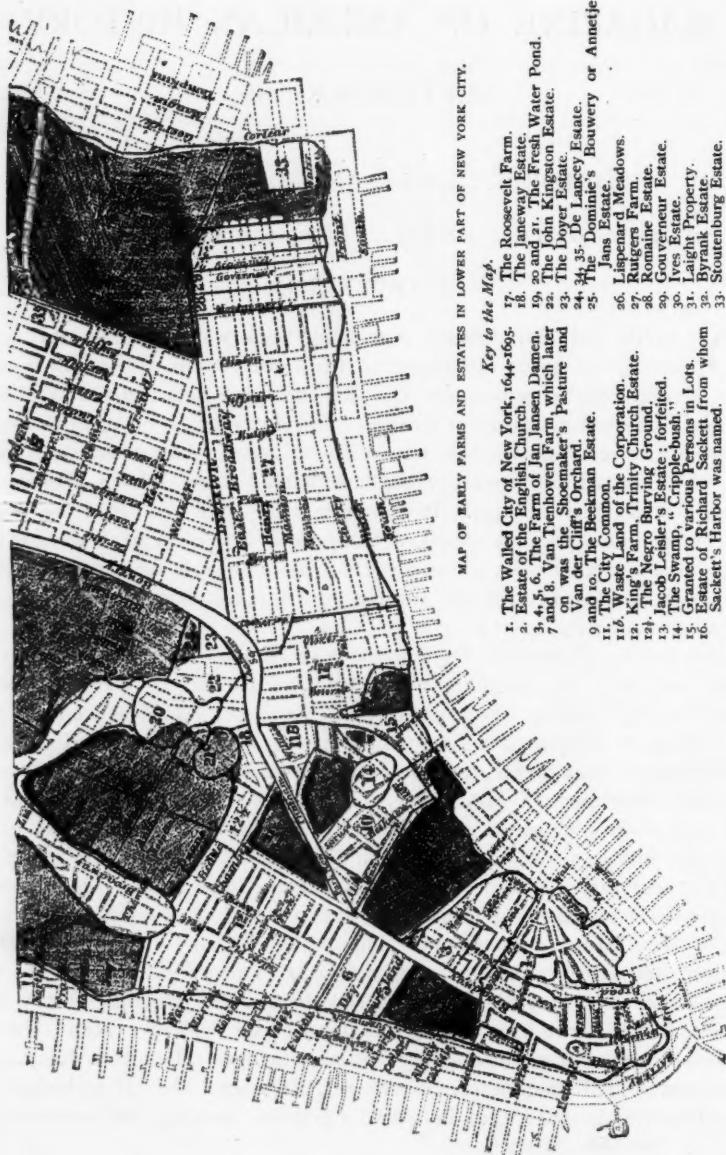
HISTORIC HOMES AND LANDMARKS

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESENT CONDITION

CHAPTER III.

DURING the half century that New York was a walled city, with two great gates opening into the outer world at Broadway and Pearl street, a picturesque farm occupied the space between the Wall and Maiden Lane, extending from river to river, that portion of it on the west of Broadway reaching what is now Fulton street. This tract or plantation was granted by Governor William Kieft to Jan Jansen Damen by patent dated April 25, 1644. It was during the same year that the brush fence was built across the island on the present line of Wall street, for the purpose of a fortification, to keep the domestic animals from straying into the woods and to obstruct the too frequent incursions into the little town of savages and wild beasts.

Jan Jansen Damen, or Dam as he was frequently named in the records, was a notable character of his time. He came to New York as a trader in 1631, young, adventurous, and energetic. He first went to the little post at Albany, but the attractions of Manhattan island were so much greater, that he returned and made New York his permanent home. He soon after married Mrs. Vinjé, a widow considerably older than himself with several children. He lived for several years in a house quite near the fort and was on intimate and familiar terms with the governor and the secretary of the province. The latter, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, a sharp-witted but unscrupulous man, courted and married Rachel Vinjé, one of Mrs. Damen's daughters. The ability of Jan Jansen Damen early brought him into prominence, and he figured in all public affairs. He was one of the consistory appointed to superintend the building of the first Dutch church in the fort, and he was one of the "Twelve Men" elected to assist the governor in quelling Indian outrages, when that fussy, self-opinionated little potentate, Governor Kieft, found himself so hedged in by difficulties in 1641, that he called a popular meeting for consultation,



which proceeded to elect the first representative body in New York; but the "Twelve Men" were not long in power, for the majority opposed the governor's fierce war policy, and Kieft dismissed them from service. Damen was also one of the elect "Eight Men" in 1643, for a similar purpose, and one of the "Nine Men" chosen at a public meeting called by Governor Stuyvesant in 1647. One notable incident in the career of Damen was when in February, 1643, he gave a Shrovetide dinner-party at his house. The governor and all the great men of the colony were present, and nearly every person in the company became merry with wine. The chief topic of conversation at the table was some recent Indian murders. Kieft was loud in favor of retaliation. A few agreed with him, while many others thought the colony was too weak to attempt war with such a vague, uncertain, and treacherous foe. Finally, at the suggestion of Damen, Verplanck, and one or two others, Secretary Van Tienhoven drew up a petition asking the governor, in the name of the "Twelve Men," to order an immediate attack upon a party of friendly Indians who had fled from the hostile Mohawks to the Dutch for protection, and were now at Pavonia, the object being chiefly—as represented—to display power and awe the enemy into decent behavior. The governor read the petition, then rose from the table and announced approaching hostilities—to the dismay of Dominie Bogardus, De la Montagne, Captain De Vries, and many others, who immediately tried to dissuade him from such a dangerous course. They assured him the petition did not represent the voice of the "Twelve Men," only three of whom had signed it; they pictured the disasters that would certainly follow, and begged him to wait awhile, at least until help should come from Europe. But Kieft obstinately gave the order, and Van Tienhoven led the soldiery that same night in one of the most brutal massacres of defenseless Indians that ever disgraced a civilized community. The consequences were terrible. The savages fell upon every little outside settlement and tomahawked and tortured every white person they could find. The summer that followed was emphatically a summer of blood. Those who escaped with their lives huddled about the fort, and farmers on Manhattan island planted their June corn in constant fear of death. The swamps and thickets swarmed with vindictive red men. The war-whoop resounded in every direction. If a benighted traveler between Long Island ferry and the town hallooed in the woods, it created a panic, the people fearing the Indians were torturing some captive. It was in September that the "Eight Men" were chosen to help govern the governor, and their first official act was to eject Jan Jansen Damen from the board because of his sympathy with Kieft, whose recall to Holland



FARM-HOUSE OF JAN JANSEN DAMEN FRONTING "WAGON ROAD," BETWEEN PINE AND CEDAR STREETS, 1646.
[Then.]

they were determined to accomplish. The winter following was one of the darkest and most disheartening ever known to the colonists. There was no help near, food was scarce, and the people who had escaped from their burning homes were without winter clothing or shoes. Indians prowled about the town committing thefts every night, often killing men less than a thousand paces from the fort. As the spring opened in 1644, Governor Kieft ordered the brush fence built across the island.



EQUITABLE BUILDING, ON SITE OF JAN JANSEN DAMEN'S FARM-HOUSE, 1889.
[Now.]

Jan Jansen Damen probably secured through his loyalty to the governor the fine tract of rich rolling land which formed his farm, and when peace was established—soon after the brush fence appeared—he proceeded to remove the timber and underbrush, and plow the stubble in, preparatory to cultivation. He selected the highest and most picturesque point for a homestead, between what is now Pine and Cedar streets, fronting Broadway a little back from the road, and erected there an

exceedingly comfortable and substantial stone house. This, it should be remembered, was forty-seven years before Pine and Cedar streets were opened. A narrow lane on the line of Cedar street led from the wagon road (Broadway) to an orchard, which Damen planted in the vicinity of the present Nassau street. He also built a brewery a short distance from his house. He must have worked with vigor, for we find he had quite an extensive garden in a flourishing condition by the time his house was finished, in which were beautiful flowers as well as fine vegetables—white and red roses, tulips, violets, marigolds, red and yellow lilies, and sun-flowers. The latter were of native growth, but most of the others named were imported. His fields yielded good crops of grain, and he experimented in the raising of tobacco. He removed his family to this pretty country home, *outside the city*, and resided here some five years prior to his death, in 1651, entertaining the notables of the province with remarkable frequency. Kieft came here every day until he was superseded by Governor Stuyvesant, after which he was Damen's permanent guest until he sailed for Holland. It was through Damen's loyalty and cleverness that the new governor was made acquainted with certain facts which led him to judge Kieft more leniently than he had anticipated, and to take alarm at the dangerous precedent of "allowing subjects to judge rulers." These two governors met at Damen's house and drank wine together at his table. Could they have peered into the future as we now glance backward two hundred and forty or more years, what would they have thought of the present granite production on the site of the little rural homestead? Nearly an acre—the entire block between Pine and Cedar street, from Broadway to Nassau excepting the Clearing House at the corner of Pine and Nassau—is at present covered by the monster Equitable building with its four entrances, on each of the four streets—a stirring city within itself.

The contrast between the two scenes is impressive, and even without following the successive steps in the interval has the effect of a supreme, inexplicable, glorious miracle in human history.

The military training of Governor Stuyvesant tended to make him imperious, and his instructions from the West India Company were explicit in giving him arbitrary power. But he nevertheless soon recognized to a limited extent the principle of "taxation only by consent," not so much from the pressure of public sentiment in the new province as from the difficulty of collecting the revenues, and the "Nine Men" were elected to aid him in his perplexing work. But he was quickly in a wrangle with his counselors, who proceeded to act as legislators with decided opinions of their own. The secretary of their board was the able

and influential Van der Donck, of whom Kieft had borrowed large sums of money and then granted him the fine lands in the locality of Yonkers. Van der Donck was the guest of Damen, where Stuyvesant, like his predecessor, continued to be a familiar visitor. As quarrels multiplied between the governor and the "Nine Men," Damen sided with the governor, and when the "Nine Men" resolved to send a delegation to Holland with complaints, he was one of the minority in that body to firmly object. Stuyvesant was kept informed of proceedings, and one day in the absence of Van der Donck sent to Damen's house and seized the official journals and papers of the secretary of the "Nine Men," and afterwards arrested and imprisoned Van der Donck himself. Great excitement followed. Van der Donck came to trial and was released, but shorn of all his offices; the "Nine Men" then appointed him with two others to proceed as delegates to The Hague with a memorial of grievances in their behalf. Governor Stuyvesant was by this act compelled at once to send delegates to represent him to the West India Company, and for this mission he chose Jan Jansen Damen and Secretary Van Tienhoven. The West India Company after a long and tedious examination sustained their governor, and the notoriety of the matter put the idea into the heads of thousands of persons in Europe to migrate and settle in the new world. Thus New York was singularly benefited. Damen died on his return, and leaving no children of his own his wife succeeded to his estate, and at her death it was divided among her children.

One of Mrs. Damen's daughters, Maria Vinjé, married Abraham Verplanck, the ancestor of the Verplanck family of New York. Another daughter, Christina Vinjé, married Dirck Volkersten. Rachel Vinjé, as before mentioned, was the wife of Van Tienhoven, who had an estate of his own, granted him by Governor Kieft about the same date as the Damen grant, situated northerly from Maiden Lane. He cultivated very little of it, but he built a house on the hill overlooking the East river, called "Gouwenberg," or Golden Hill, reached by a lane from the water on the line of John street. He was the most unpopular man in New York affairs under Dutch rule; and when dismissed from office for disreputable conduct, in 1656, he absconded. His hat and cane were found floating on the river, and his property was administered upon as if he were dead. His plantation, divided and sold, was known in after years as the "Shoemaker's Pasture" and the "Van der Cliff Estate." About five acres of the Damen farm west of Broadway was sold in the early part of Stuyvesant's administration to George Ryerson. After Ryerson's death his widow married Teunis Dey, and the property descended to her heirs.

Dirck Dey became the owner of a large portion of the property, and Dey street was laid out in his time through its centre and named for him. Next south of this was a strip of land inherited by Mrs. Van Tienhoven from the Damen property, nearly two hundred and fifty feet on Broadway, which was sold by her executors in 1669 to Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt, and remained in that family for generations. In 1733 the heirs laid out Cortlandt street forty feet wide near the middle of this tract.

Mrs. Damen had only one son, John Vinjé, the first male child born in New York of European parents, about 1614, who resided in a little farmhouse on the Damen estate at about the present corner of Liberty and William streets. The old ferry road through the valley at Maiden Lane was a short distance north of his house, reached by a lane. He was a brewer as well as a farmer, and kept a huge windmill constantly at work on the high ground near by. In the year 1656 (according to the court records) John Vinjé instituted several suits for damages done his pea-vines and cabbages by school boys running through them. The sisters of John Vinjé, Mrs. Verplanck and Mrs. Volkersten, had farm-houses and gardens side by side in the section along the East river between Smith's valley, Wall street, and Maiden Lane. The brush fence was superseded by a great wooden wall on the line of Wall street in 1653. But however successful this famous fortification with its feint of strength in keeping strangers out, it earned no distinction for keeping light-fingered gentry within the city: we find among the curious records that one Messack Martens, having been arrested, confessed to having climbed over the Wall and stolen five or six cabbages from a garden. He was examined by *torture* before an august tribunal to discover if possible some further offense, and his sentence was "that he be brought to the usual place of execution, to stand in the pillory with cabbages on his head, and be banished five years from the jurisdiction of the city, with costs and mises of justice." The stone house of Damen, with about three hundred and eighty feet front of land on Broadway extending east nearly to Pearl street, was bought from the heirs in 1661 by Augustine Heermans, a merchant, who was also New York's first map-maker.

Real estate hereabouts was beginning to rise in value. Yet as late as 1678 the bears of the forest had not abandoned the haunts of their ancestors. The graphic description of a bear-hunt in an orchard which had been recently purchased by an Englishman of wealth, Mr. John Robinson—situated between what is now Cedar street and Maiden Lane—is handed along to us in the interesting journal of Rev. Charles Wolley, chaplain to the British forces in New York. This clerical gentleman was

here in the summer of that year, and regarded the sport of bear-hunting as one of the most interesting features of his stay. He says: "We followed a bear from tree to tree (in this orchard), upon which he would swarm like a cat; and when he was got to his resting-place, perched upon a high branch, we dispatched a youth after him with a club to an opposite bough, who, knocking his paws, comes growling down backwards with a thump upon the ground: so we all after him again. His descending backwards is a thing particularly remarkable." When Rev. Mr. Wolley was about to sail for England, an old Indian, with great ceremony, presented him with two live, full-grown bears to take with him across the water. He says he ordered his negro boy to tie them fast to the crib where he had left his horse, "and left them to any one's acceptance," after his departure.

Not far from this date the tanneries, which had flourished for many years along the ditch at Broad street, were ordered out of the city, and ere long were removed to Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley with a little rivulet trickling through it, bordered on the south by the fine pasture lands of the Damen farm. This was esteemed a sufficient distance into the country to obviate all objections to what the citizens had pronounced a nuisance.

In 1685 Governor Dongan bought a strip of land eighty feet deep from the Damen heirs, along the northern side of Wall street, which that year was surveyed and established. This purchase, with some additions, was cut into homestead lots and the greater part of it sold to Abraham de Peyster and Nicholas Bayard. The latter was that year mayor of the city. Abraham de Peyster was mayor in 1691, and projected improvements with a lavish hand. In 1692 Pine, Cedar, and Liberty streets were laid out through the old Damen farm. Four years later a cartway was opened from the head of Broad in Wall street to Maiden Lane on the line of Nassau street. It is interesting to note that Broadway, then called "the wagon way," above the city gate, bore no such relative importance to other streets as at present; indeed, the Smith's valley road (afterwards Queen street, now Pearl) from Wall street north was built up much earlier and with a far better class of buildings. In 1695 Mayor Abraham de Peyster built in it a palatial mansion between Pine and Cedar streets, fronting the west, which greatly enhanced the value of property in that vicinity. It was fifty-nine by eighty feet in extent and three stories high, the grounds occupying the whole block to the river's edge, with coach-house and stable in the rear. The style of life of the family was the same as that of the European gentry. They had sixteen household servants, nine of whom were negro slaves. They gave costly dinners and parties,

and nearly all the celebrities from the old world who visited the new were recipients of their elegant hospitality. Lord Bellomont in his day was a frequent guest in this mansion, and after his death De Peyster, as president of the council, was acting governor of New York. At the time he built this mansion, De Peyster was thirty-eight years of age, with a frank, winning face, fine presence, and great polish of manners. It was an interesting, historic home through the entire century following, and until 1856, associated with all the notable events and principal characters of not less than five generations of men. At the time of Washington's inauguration in 1789 it was the residence of Governor George Clinton, and the scene of the first dinner given to the President-elect on the day of his arrival in New York.

The year 1695 was memorable in New York for the marvelous leap forward in the price of real estate. The city had been growing rapidly in population for two or three years, and the best lots in the new streets through the old Damen farm were in the market. There was just then more money in circulation than had ever before been known in New York. Privateersmen, and even the most notorious pirates, paraded the streets without fear, and bought provisions for long voyages in exchange for gold or valuable commodities from the oriental world. Captain Kidd was married in New York in 1691 to the widow of a sea captain, and lived with his family in Hanover square, then in a pretty embowered cottage in Liberty street—while in the city between his voyages. He later bought a lot in Pine street, seventy-five feet front, intending to erect a house that would eclipse even that of Mayor de Peyster, one-third of which lot was sold in 1706 for \$60. Kidd was an attractive and cultivated man, and no one suspected his real character. Robert Livingston introduced him in England as a worthy and able sea captain, and he was employed by the king. It was in 1696 that he sailed from New York under brilliant auspices, ostensibly to aid the government in the suppression of piracy, and, as every one knows, he became the prince of pirates.

The most important as well as the most unique edifice erected in Pine street in the early years was the French church *Du St. Esprit*, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1704. The Huguenots had become very numerous in New York, and their little place of worship in Marketfield street too small. The lot secured by them extended from Pine to Cedar street, and was about seventy-five feet in width. The rear of the structure may be seen in the picture, with the tower and churchyard, the view being from Cedar street. It was built of stone and plastered on the outside; its dimensions were fifty by seventy feet, and in its quaint steeple was a musical



THE FRENCH HUGUENOT CHURCH IN PINE STREET, 1704.

bell. This church was thoroughly renovated and repaired in 1741. Substantial dwelling-houses were built during the next two decades in Pine, Cedar, and Liberty streets; and Nassau, although always narrow, began to assume an air of consequence. In 1726 a committee from the Reformed Dutch church carefully examined the various lots in this locality. The Garden street sanctuary was overflowing, and larger accommodations must be provided for its worshipers. They finally purchased the ground in Nassau extending from Cedar to Liberty streets, the price paid being £575, and erected the Middle Dutch Church thereon. When this famous historic edifice was consecrated in 1729 it had no gallery, and the ceiling was one entire arch without pillars. It was, however, substantially built of stone, one hundred feet long by seventy wide, with a fine steeple, the pride of the town, in which was placed the notable bell ordered from Holland, through directions in Mayor Abraham de Peyster's will—by whom it was a gift to the church; tradition tells us that silver coin was thrown into the preparation of the bell-metal by the people of Amsterdam.*

For upwards of thirty years after its erection the services were exclusively in the Dutch language in this church. But the rapid growth of Episcopacy, and the fact that the educated part of the community understood both Dutch and English, induced the consistory to call a minister who could officiate in English. This created immense dissatisfaction.

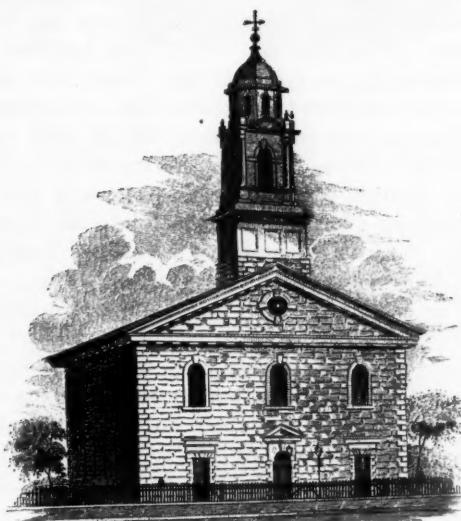
* In the July Magazine, 1886 [xvi. 4], is a picture of this church bell, which is still in existence.

tion among the sires who were wedded to old customs. In the meantime, the church was remodeled, the pulpit removed to the north end and canopied by a ponderous sounding-board, and galleries were built on three sides. The new minister, Rev. Dr. Archibald Laidlie, preached his first sermon in the English language within these walls April 15, 1764, from which date services were conducted in both languages until 1803, when the Dutch was omitted altogether. A revival of religion almost immediately followed Dr. Laidlie's arrival. At the close of a prayer-meeting one evening many persons gathered about him, saying, "Ah, dominie, we offered up many an earnest prayer in Dutch for your coming among us, and truly the Lord has heard us in English." Peter Van Brugh Livingston, afterwards president of the New York congress, was strongly in favor of the innovation. Although his mother was a Dutch lady, and the Dutch language the first he had been taught as a child, and still spoke with ease, yet he could not understand a Dutch sermon half as well as one in English, and of his children he said there was not one who could interpret a sentence in Dutch. He said the greater half of Trinity church consisted of accessions from the Dutch church, as the young people disliked the preaching in Dutch and were constantly straying there.

A tiny Quaker meeting-house was built near by at about the same date, located in what was subsequently an alley or cross street between Liberty street and Maiden Lane, near where the Real Estate Exchange now stands. As years rolled on, another church was planted in Cedar street, near Broadway. This was in 1757, and it came about through a disagreement in the Wall street Presbyterian church concerning a system of church psalmody. The few members who seceded were strong, resolute men, and in 1761 called Rev. Dr. John Mason, an eloquent Scotch divine, to be their pastor. He came, and in 1768 they built for him a plain yet handsome stone church, sixty-five by fifty-four feet, and it was known as the Scotch Presbyterian or Cedar street church. Dr. Mason died in 1792 and was succeeded by his son, Rev. John Mitchell Mason, D.D., born in New York and educated in Scotland, who attained, if possible, greater celebrity in the ministry than his father and was distinguished for eloquence in other fields. His orations on the death of Washington and Hamilton are historical. Both divines, father and son, were personal and intimate friends of President Washington.

It appears, therefore, that prior to the Revolution four churches were thriving on the old Dutch soil, within "a stone's-throw" of each other, and the neighborhood was quite thickly settled. Next to Wall, Pine

street was for some years the most fashionable place of residence in the city. John Livingston, whose wife was Catharine, Treasurer de Peyster's daughter, erected a handsome house here; and his brother, William Livingston, the afterward famous war governor of New Jersey, also resided in Pine street until he built "Liberty Hall," in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1773. He was for many years president of the "Moot," a club composed entirely of lawyers—the first lawyers' club in New York—the meetings being often held at his house. It is curious to note that the home of the present lawyers' club, in the Equitable building, rests upon the same site, as if a genuine growth from the seed planted one hundred and thirty or more years ago. William Livingston's success in law was not due to any remarkable eloquence or fluency of speech, but to the accuracy of his knowledge and the soundness of his logic, seasoned always with dry humor and stinging sarcasm. He was a slight, tall, graceful man in the early years of his stirring life, so thin and slight, indeed, that the ladies called his face the knife-blade. He was severely strait-laced on many subjects, and a fierce opponent in religious and political controversies, but could unbend when he chose, and in the social circle or at the club was a charming companion. He had four brilliant and exceptionally attractive daughters, and his home was the resort of the cleverest and most accomplished men and women of the day. It was under this roof that John Jay, subsequently chief justice of the nation, asked for the heart and hand of the beautiful Sarah Livingston, and they were married at "Liberty Hall," in April, 1774, a large proportion of the notable people of New York being present at the ceremony. A little to the north of the De Peyster mansion in Pearl (Queen) street stood the pretentious home of Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor 1780-1783, whose daughter married Lord Cath-

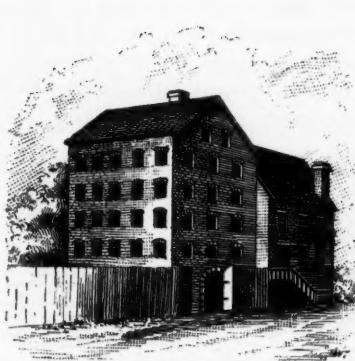


PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CEDAR STREET.

cart. The Brevoorts, and Whitehead Hicks who married the only daughter of John Brevoort, had elegant houses near by; as did one branch of the Van Zandts, Theophylact Bache, fifth president of the chamber of commerce, Elias Desbrosses, whose name has been perpetuated by a street and a ferry, the lord proprietor of Philipse manor, and several branches of the Livingstons. In Liberty street, alongside the Dutch church, was the great ugly-looking sugar-house of the Livingstons, a gray stone building, six stories high, with immensely thick walls and small deep windows.

The British army found this great structure admirably adapted for the incarceration of their American prisoners-of-war, on taking possession of New York city in 1776. Each story was divided into two great rooms with low ceilings, into which were huddled the sick and the well, indiscriminately, thousands of them; and their captors had little else to furnish except iron bars for the windows, and chains to keep the poor suffering prisoners from walking about within their narrow confines. A ponderous jail-like door opened into Liberty street to the court-yard, through which two British sentinels were constantly pacing night and day. On the southeast a heavy door opened into the dismal cellar used as a dungeon. The yard was surrounded by a close board fence nine feet high. The building was erected long years before for a sugar-refinery, and the genius of an enemy could not have fashioned it better as a place of torture. The prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington were the first to enter it. The coarsest food was doled out in scanty measure, and the men devoured it like hungry wolves or ceased to eat at all. During the winter months they had no fire or blankets, and in the torrid heat of summer almost no air to breathe. These victims were constantly decreased by death, and as constantly increased by newly captured patriots.

William Dunlap writes: "I went to school in Little Queen (now Cedar) street, and my seat at the desk, in an upper room of a large storehouse kind of building, placed me in full view of the sugar-house corner of Crown (now Liberty) street and Nassau. The reader may have noticed the tall pile of building with little port-hole windows tier above tier. In that place crowds of American prisoners were incarcerated, pined, sickened, and died. During the suffocating heat of summer, when my schoolroom windows were all open and I could not catch a cooling breeze, I saw opposite to me every narrow aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air. What must have been the atmosphere within? Andros's description of



THE LIVINGSTON SUGAR-HOUSE, 1776.
Liberty street, just south of Nassau street.



REAL ESTATE EXCHANGE, 1889.
Liberty street, just north of Nassau street.

the prison-ship tells us. Child as I was, this spectacle sunk deep into my heart. I can see the picture now." *

The pretty Dutch church was in convenient proximity to receive the overflow. The pews were torn out and used for fire-wood during that first winter, and the whole interior disfigured, dismantled, and destroyed. A floor was laid from one gallery to another, and three thousand prisoners were accommodated. They were packed together so close they could hardly breathe, and the church became the scene of some of the most harrowing and tragic events in the annals of the country. The sufferings of that winter were scarcely less here than in the sugar-house of the Livingstons, which ranked foremost in horrors among the sugar-house prisons, as the old Jersey prison-ship took precedence among its kind upon the water. The inmates of the church were the following year transferred to other prisons, the glass was taken from the windows, the shutters thrown off, and the floor taken up and covered with tan-bark; the sacred edifice was thus converted into a riding-school for the training of dragoon horses. A pole was placed across the middle of the interior for the horses to jump over, and it was a noisy, rollicking meeting-place for British officers and soldiers until the end of the war.

New York city was severely humiliated during its occupation by a foreign foe. It was transformed virtually into a garrison town, all courts

* The father of young Dunlap was an Irish officer who was wounded at Quebec. Being a loyalist he went to New York in the spring of 1777, taking his boy with him. Later on the boy from his school in Cedar street developed into the portrait artist and distinguished author of his generation.

of justice were closed, trade ceased, there was no employment for laborers, provisions and fuel were scarce and extravagantly high, and the poor were in a perishing condition. The poisonous prisons on every hand were agonizing to the inhabitants. A few of the opulent citizens who took no part in the unhappy disputes tried to remedy evils, but military law pre-



MAP OF NEW YORK IN 1776, SHADED PART SHOWING TRACE OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1776.

vailed, no communication was allowed with the captive patriots, and aid conveyed to them by stealth only doomed the benefactor to the same fate. When the victims confined in the Middle Dutch church crawled to the windows begging for food, a sentinel, pistol in hand, would turn back the gifts of the charitable. Among the notable men associated with these

harrowing scenes was John Pintard, the founder of historical societies in America, then a clerk for his uncle, Lewis Pintard, the commissary of American prisoners, a bright, handsome, college-bred, energetic young man of twenty. He was in New York three of those distressing years, and wrote graphic and thrilling descriptions of what came to his notice.

Among the practical philanthropists who unostentatiously went about doing good while the black cloud hovered over the city was Andrew Hamersley, for whom Hamersley street was named, a rich importing merchant who resided in a handsome house in Hanover square. He tried to alleviate the woes of the sick and dying prisoners, and there was hardly a day that he might not have been seen in Nassau street, near the old church. He was a great favorite with the British officers, and his movements were neither watched nor hampered. He was one of those gentle, unassuming men who inspire universal confidence, with great strength and symmetry of Christian character. His wife was the granddaughter of Thomas Gordon (son of Sir George Gordon) who was one of the twenty-seven original lords proprietors of East New Jersey, and she inherited the interests in that Lords Proprietary which has been handed along in the slow process of division to the Hamersley family of the present day. The Revolution seriously impaired the fortunes of Andrew Hamersley, but he was a lavish giver to the needy all the same. He however inherited an estate in the West Indies from his mother's brother, Louis Carré, a Huguenot, which retrieved the disaster in a measure. He entertained almost every Englishman of note at his house during the Revolutionary period, who chanced to be in New York. His family rarely, if ever, dined without visitors. Lord Drummond was his guest, and pronounced the Hamersley household one of the loveliest within the circle of his knowledge. He had three sons, William, Thomas, and Louis Carré. William was the first professor of the institute of medicine in Columbia college; Thomas was a man of learning, and married the granddaughter of Governor William Livingston; Louis Carré was the father of the late John W. Hamersley, a sketch of whose career will be found on another page.

With the welcome return of peace the ruined church was restored at considerable expense, but remained unfinished until the summer of 1790. It was opened on the Fourth of July of that year, and the first sermon under its new roof was preached by the eminent Rev. John H. Livingston, D.D., afterward president of the college at New Brunswick. It would be interesting if practicable to marshal before us in friendly review some of the many important characters who in the course of its dozen decades of chequered existence were wont to kneel in prayer within its walls. No

church in New York was ever more thoroughly saturated, so to speak, with varied historic associations. Dr. Franklin prosecuted certain of his experiments in electricity in it, using the belfry as an observatory. It was well filled with sabbath worshipers during the first quarter of the present century, and on Sunday evenings crowded. The chief portion of the congregation lived in the vicinity. The tide however was sweeping northerly, and the time came when the old church must be abandoned. Farewell exercises were conducted by Rev. Dr. Knox and Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D.,

on the 11th of August, 1844, in presence of an audience that thronged the building to its utmost capacity. Both the Dutch and English language were used on this memorable occasion—the last words of prayer and the benediction being uttered in Dutch. The property was then leased to the United States government for a post-office. It was quickly altered in its outward aspect, and the interior converted into a busy workshop. The post-office authorities found its walls marvelously solid; they bored holes enough into them to have destroyed any



MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH, NASSAU STREET, 1729.

ordinary masonry. They built stories on the top, and stuck little rooms on here and there in convenient places, with an effect that reminded one of a packhorse heavily laden for a long journey. In 1860 negotiations were instituted for the purchase of the church property by the government, and the price fixed was \$200,000. Having obtained authority to sell, a committee from the church proceeded to Washington and tendered the deed to Howell Cobb, then secretary of the treasury, and afterward to Jeremiah Black, the attorney-general. But the country was on the eve of war, and Secretary Cobb was disinclined to allow the money to pass out of the treasury.

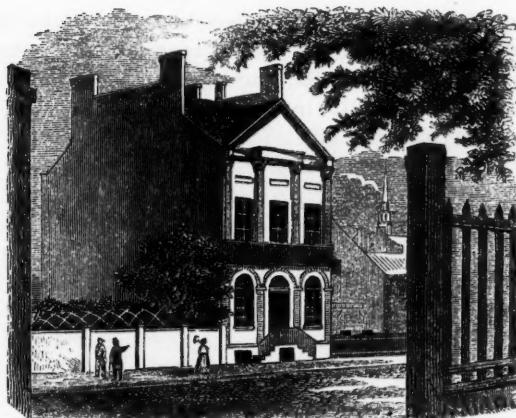


MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE BUILDING, ON SITE OF MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH, 1889.

He finally declined to accept the deed until an act should be procured from the legislature of New York, giving consent and ceding jurisdiction. The committee thereupon proceeded to Albany and secured the passage of the desired law, which is known as chapter 118 of the laws of 1861. In May of that year the deed was again tendered to the government, and notwithstanding the war was in actual progress, the attorney-general was in favor of consummating the purchase. The deed was finally delivered in the early part of July, 1861. Twenty years later the government valued this property at \$600,000 and had built a new post-office in City Hall Park. For a few months after the post-office department was removed, the interior of the old church was utilized as an auction mart, and a dozen large stores were temporarily fitted up and found eager occupants. Then came the announcement that in accordance with an act of congress the premises would be sold at public auction. It was understood that the chamber of commerce desired to secure it; but on the day of sale, October 18, 1882, the successful bidder was the Mutual Life Insurance Company, who paid \$650,000. Real estate experts and others said the land should have been cut up into lots, for in that shape the government might have realized \$1,000,000 from its sale. The final demolition of the church quickly followed, watched daily by thousands of relic-hunters and citizens. And swiftly, as if by magic, arose the building of majestic proportions which now graces the historic site.

The tangled wild which Jan Jansen Damen transformed into an orchard has certainly borne remarkable fruit. Two hundred and fifty years is as one day; yet few localities can exhibit so diversified a record. At noon-tide the church, in the evening an institution with assets of upwards of \$126,000,000, and an income of not less than \$20,000,000 yearly. The Mutual Life Insurance Company was started in 1843 without any cash capital, only \$500,000 of risks on paper, which were taken to enable the corporation to secure a charter. Its first home was a little room in Wall street, and its rent and the president's salary the first year combined did not exceed \$1,500. By the time the civil war broke out it had money legitimately earned, and to spare; at times subsequently more money and better credit than the government, and it was liberally used in numberless emergencies, for the public good. Its enormous edifice has a frontage in three streets, Cedar, Nassau and Liberty, the view in the sketch being that in Nassau extending from Cedar to Liberty, and its rear reaches nearly to William street. Like the Equitable building which corners on Cedar street opposite, it is a city within itself.

The site of the Real Estate Exchange in Liberty street, only a few



FIRST BUILDING OF THE NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY, 1795.

rods distant, was just outside the Damen orchard, in what was known (in Dutch) as Damen's "clover pastures." These were open fields sloping into the romantic valley now Majden Lane, where cattle could graze with plenty of fresh water to drink in the babbling brook below. When Damen fenced in his sweet pastures, the city cows were driven every morning around through the cow-path (the site of Pearl street) and up through the valley to the commons, then back again at evening. This was a favorite route for many years.

In the early part of this century Grant Thorburn, the seedsman and author, and the first florist in New York, was making his horticultural gardens celebrated on the very spot where clover blossoms and thistles adorned the pastoral landscape in the beginning, and where at present stands the massive Real Estate Exchange, opened in April, 1885, which seems so firmly planted that it sounds superfluous to ask "what next?"

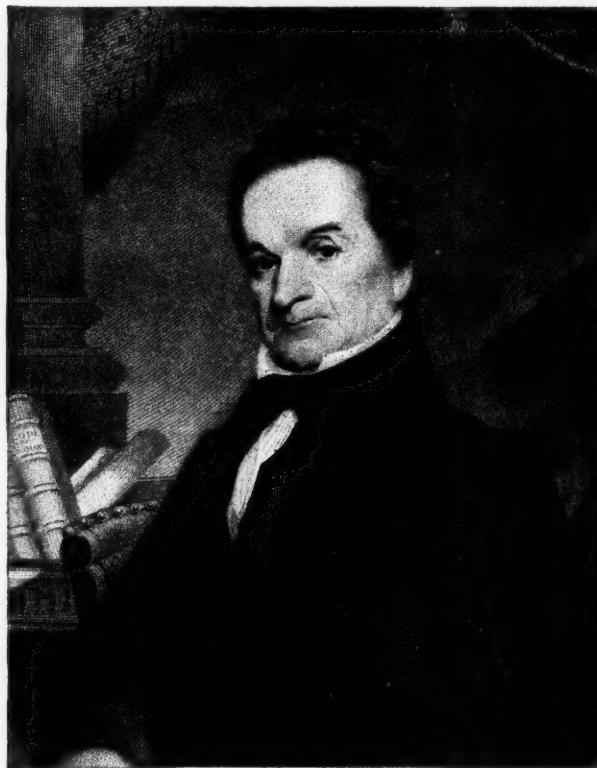
The study of the successive or even the most conspicuous steps of local development in New York, the reflex of what has been taking place throughout the country, brings into the foreground many instructive lessons.

The first building of the New York Society Library completed in 1795, was another of the productions of the Damen farm—or perhaps it might be called the specific fruit of the Damen orchard. The site when purchased was a part of the garden of Joseph Winter's mansion; it was a thirty-foot lot of irregular depth, located in Nassau, corner of Cedar

street, fronting the old church. The tree hovering in the shadow of the building, as shown in the sketch, was a luxuriant apricot, and a grapeviny may be noticed peeping above the brick wall. The illustration is from a wood engraving made in 1818, by Dr. Alexander Anderson, the father of American wood-engraving. The edifice was of brown stone with three-quarter Corinthian columns resting on a projecting basement, with ornamental iron balustrades forming a favorite balcony, and was decidedly imposing considering its purpose and the date of its erection. The interior was fashioned with a flight of stairs in the centre leading to an oblong room in the second floor lighted with three tall windows at each end, having a gallery, and bookcases on every side protected by wire doors. This library, it should be remembered by our readers, was the earliest loan library in America, founded in 1754; and it included the city library which began its existence in the Wall street City Hall about the beginning of that century, with valuable newspaper files from 1726. The original subscription roll when the society was organized in 1754, comprised about one hundred and forty names. Each member was earnestly requested to bring in a list of such books as he might judge most proper for the first purchase. Invoices of rare, useful, and standard works, were received from London (as appears in the minutes) in 1755, 1756, 1758, 1761, 1763, and 1765. One of the early committees to secure a library room in the City Hall, was Hon. John Watts, William Livingston (subsequently governor) and William P. Smith. Four thousand or more of the books disappeared at the outbreak of the Revolution, and were generally supposed destroyed. But many of them had been hidden away for safe keeping, and re-appeared after the war ended. The twelve trustees elected in 1788 were Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, General Matthew Clarkson, Robert Watts the son of Hon. John Watts, Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, Edward Griswold, Henry Remsen, Walter Rutherford, Samuel Jones, Judge Brockholst Livingston son of Governor William Livingston, Hugh Gaine, the celebrated Dr. Samuel Bard, and Peter Ketteltas, all men of education and culture. Henceforward the society prospered, the library constantly increasing in size and importance; and it occupied this building forty-one years.

The vicinity of the new Library at the time of its erection was crowded with objects of intense interest. Antique churches with pointed moss-grown roofs and grassy graveyards about them could be seen from every window, not least among which was the quaint specimen of Holland architecture opposite, whose history has been found so full of romantic incident. Dwelling-houses half hidden with fruit and shade trees, of all sizes

and styles of architecture, stores, offices, barns, blacksmith-shops and wagon-sheds, were scattered here and there in close proximity to each other, while rosebushes, trailing vines, and other exterior beauties con-



Edwin Livingston

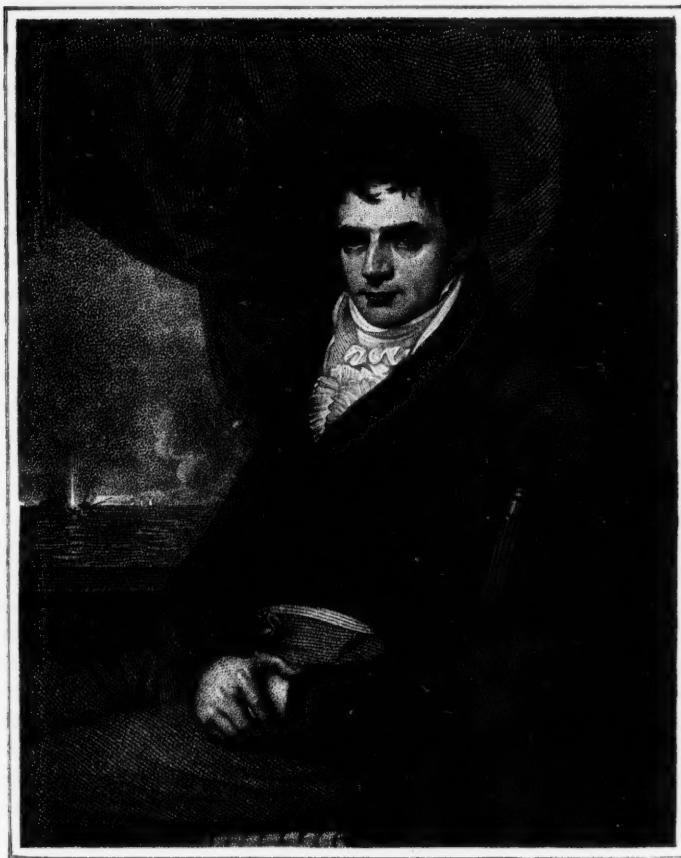
Mayor of New York, 1801-1803.

cealed a multitude of interior blemishes. The street scenes were in striking contrast to those of to-day in the same region. Each householder attended to the sweeping of the street in front of his house twice a week; negro boys went their rounds at daybreak seeking chimneys to sweep;

wood-sawyers tramped with their paraphernalia from door to door to cut the hickory wood then used for fuel; carts with drinking water at so much per gallon rumbled up and down perpetually; milkmen with yokes on their shoulders from which tin cans were suspended peddled milk in the early morning; and in the evening the streets were lighted dimly with oil lamps. Yet with all this primitive condition of affairs, nearly every family of any pretension to wealth owned negro slaves.

During the closing decade of the last century Aaron Burr was a familiar figure in this locality. His office was at 10 Cedar street. Here he pored over his law-cases, a well-formed man small of stature, with gigantic ambition, cool, wary, artificial, graceful in manners, and irresistibly pleasing in address. Here he devised his political schemes, and taught his clerks to write in cipher, as he did not dare to trust the public mail with his mysterious secrets; as, for instance, he requested "18 to ask 45, whether, for any reasons, 21 could be induced to vote for 6, and if he could, whether 14 would withdraw his opposition to 29, and 11 exert his influence in favor of 22." Here, with matchless foresight, Burr on one occasion drafted an imposing catalogue of names for the city ticket, and then applied himself resolutely to the task of inducing the gentlemen to permit their names to be used—who for a long time were deaf to arguments and entreaties. The art with which Burr worked upon their foibles and judgment was marvelous, and in several notable cases he was successful. Then he devoted his genius to the elections. At his office in Cedar street he superintended the making out of lists of voters with the political history of each appended in parallel columns, to which was added all new information obtained. The finance committee had prepared a list of rich men, with the sum of money it was proposed to solicit from each, attached to his name. Burr looked it over critically, and observing that a certain politician, equally remarkable for zeal and parsimony, was assessed \$100, said quietly, "Strike out his name, for you will not get the money, and from the moment the demand is made upon him his exertions will cease, and you will not see him at the polls during the election." The name was erased. Presently, as he read on, he noticed \$100 placed opposite the name of another man who was liberal with his money, but incorrigibly lazy. "Double the sum," he said, "and tell him no work will be expected from him, except an occasional attendance in the committee room to help fold the tickets." The result was as predicted. The lazy man paid the money cheerfully, and the stingy man worked day and night. In all Burr's lists a man's opinions and temperament were noted, also his habits and the amount of excitement and inducement necessary to overcome any

disinclination to visit the polls. Whenever Burr, leaving his office in Cedar street, chanced to meet a politician, or even the humblest of his adherents, he greeted and treated them so sweetly and blandly that his manners were remembered long after the conversation faded from memory.



ROBERT FULTON.
From the painting by Benjamin West.

Morgan Lewis about the same time had an office at 59 Maiden Lane, and his brother-in-law, Edward Livingston, at 51 Pearl street. Morgan Lewis was attorney-general of the state, then judge of the court of

common pleas, in 1792 chief justice of the supreme court of New York, and in 1804 governor of the state. He urged upon the legislature the necessity of national education, and under his administration a permanent fund for common schools was established and the militia system enlarged. Edward Livingston was a lawyer of high rank, and a member of congress who achieved national fame by the eloquence and vigor of his opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws. His speech on the 21st of June, 1798, was printed on satin, and produced a thrilling effect. He was an extremely popular man, and in 1801 was elected to the mayoralty of New York City, then a post of great dignity and importance, yielding an income of not less than \$10,000 a year. During the appalling visitation of yellow fever in 1803, he remained in the city and faced the terrible enemy, visiting the hospitals every day, encouraging nurses and physicians by his presence and undismayed cheerfulness, and even went about the city at night to discover for himself whether the watchmen were vigilant. Dr. Richard Bailey lived at 60 Pine (then King) street, whose partner was Dr. Samuel Bard, and the mayor was in consultation with them constantly. The scourge continued until the end of October, and the fearless mayor was stricken down with it on one of the last days of September, but recovered after a severe illness.

Hundreds of men of national reputation whom it would be interesting to mention if space permitted, were associated with this historic locality in the early part of the century. Judge Robert Troup had an office at 11 Cedar street, for several years. Mayor Richard Varick lived at 11 Pearl street, and Robert Kennedy at 21 Pine street. The art rooms of the famous Scotch artist, Archibald Robertson, were at 79 Liberty street, and Washington Irving was living with his mother in William street, corner of Ann. It was here that Irving wrote clever articles for the *Morning Chronicle*, edited by his brother, Dr. Peter Irving; and also his *Knickerbocker History of the City of New York*, which was intended as an extravagant burlesque of Dr. Mitchell's *Picture of New York*, just published. The felicitous style of the work, and its wonderful humor, sufficiently broad not to be confounded with realities, gave it high place in public favor. Everybody read and laughed, and everybody wished for more. It is said the great satirist, Judge Breckenridge, smuggled a copy of the book to the bench, and exploded over it during one of the sessions of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. Sir Walter Scott wrote to Mr. Henry Brevoort of New York, "I have never seen anything so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs.

Scott and two ladies who are our guests, and our sides are sore with laughing." Robert Fulton was also much in Pine and the adjoining streets. He fell in love with the lady he married in the Livingston home in Pearl Street. The lady was the niece of the Chancellor and of Edward Livingston. It is hardly remembered of Fulton that he was an artist of considerable merit, so closely has his name and fame been associated with mechanical achievements. When he first came to New York, in 1785, he was only known as a miniature portrait-painter. He went to England and studied several years with Benjamin West, who painted his portrait, bringing him before us as it were in the flesh, with all his lovable characteristics and grave disappointments. In traveling, Fulton made the acquaintance of the Earl of Bridgewater, parent of the canal system in England, through whose example and encouragement he turned his attention to civil engineering. The memory of Fulton is dear to all Americans, for while he did not originate steam navigation, or invent the mechanism which rendered steam possible or profitable on the water, he was the first to secure the combination of means which brought the steamboat into every-day use, and the Hudson River was the scene of his triumph. In figure he was tall, slender, and stood perfectly erect. His eyes were dark and penetrating, and over his high forehead and about his neck were scattered curls of rich brown hair. He was a man of quick perceptions, sound sense, graceful and pleasing manners, and a voice of peculiar melody. His refined character rendered him a social favorite, and, although usually reserved and serious, his vivacity at times was singularly engaging. He was forty-two years of age when he demonstrated the utility of the steamboat, and marked an era in the progress of science and civilization.

The Damen farm is a thing of the past. So will be what now flourishes upon its site as the centuries roll on. Yet the future can only be an out-growth of what has gone before, as the colossal structures of to-day have their roots deeply laid in the soil which has been nurtured through two hundred and fifty well rounded and productive years.

Martha J. Lamb

OLD FRENCH POST AT TREMPELEAU, WISCONSIN

In the latter part of July, 1885, whilst exploring the vicinity of Trempeleau, Wisconsin, for works of the mound-builders, I discovered in the public road an old site, consisting of small heaps of burned stone, of undoubtedly artificial origin. It was located on the S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 20, township 18 of range 9 west, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles above the business portion of the village, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the well-known *Montagne qui trempe à l'eau*, or Trempeleau mountain of the upper Mississippi river. At that time I had not heard of the existence of old ruins of any kind there, and did not know of any French post or stopping-place that was supposed to be located in that region.

A year or two afterward, when the Chicago, Burlington and Northern Railway was graded, two of the stone piles were removed and found to be old fire-places. Later on several parties made excavations, and also uncovered the remaining fire-places. The blacksmith-shop, that necessary adjunct of the early trading-posts, was soon recognized, and around the forges, or the places where they stood, were found various modern relics of metal. Amongst the articles several scraps of iron and a few remnants of thin brass and copper plate were found, also two or three wrought-iron nails, a piece of a gun-barrel, one end of which had been fashioned into a punch such as is used at the present time by blacksmiths in punching holes in a horse-shoe, a soft piece of iron some three inches square, and what seemed to be part of an old-fashioned door-hinge.

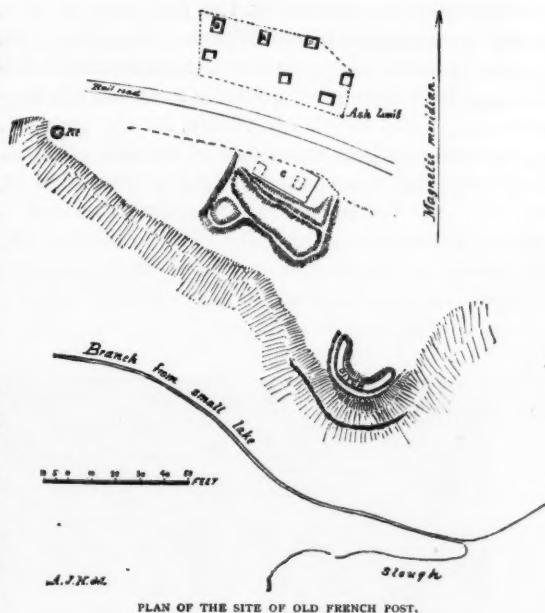
Last November (1888) I gave this place a further examination and made a correct survey of the site and its immediate surroundings. Within the surveyed lines there is every indication that the buildings which once occupied this place were burned. The charcoal, ashes, and burned earth, which cover the original surface to the average depth of two inches, are visible at every point where the ground has been disturbed, and all the stone found within the burned district shows more or less action of the fire, yet not to the degree that would be expected.

The buildings stood in the northern part of the area surveyed, and there are seven fire-places, including a doubtful one marked *A* on the plan: the one marked *B* had two bottoms, one above the other. At the place marked *C* there were the remains of one and possibly two forges. The one on the east side seems to have been principally built of wood, with a top covering

of stone for the fire to rest upon. The one to the west was smaller and apparently built of stone, though possibly this may have been an ordinary fireplace, but no one can tell now for a certainty on account of its being torn up by those who first made excavations at this point. The building in which they were located was apparently 14 x 28 feet in plan, judging from the débris, or there may have been two contiguous buildings covering that space. The two forges and a small space immediately around them had been excavated at the time I made my examination, but some of the stone in the western one was still held in position by the roots of a sapling.

Assuming that the best results would be obtained at these forges I made excavations in the undisturbed surface immediately surrounding them. About the east forge there were quantities of slag (cinder) such as is produced in a forge by the use of charcoal, and some of the pieces were fully three inches in diameter. There also I found one wrought-iron nail, two wrought-iron arrow-heads, a small iron wedge, an old-fashioned bit made by a blacksmith, and a small stone pipe. Near the west forge I found three nails and two arrow-heads made of wrought iron, also a part of a hook made of the same material. Around this forge there was not so much slag.

The pipe mentioned above was in a thick bed of charcoal, and is similar in shape to those met with in the ancient mounds and called "ceremonial pipes." In all probability it was found by the occupants of the place whilst demolishing or leveling one of the mounds, for there are the remains of two of them still to be seen on this site, and there are numerous others in the neighborhood.



PLAN OF THE SITE OF OLD FRENCH POST.

The outer work shown on the plan is built on an ancient mound, but its use is somewhat of an enigma. Just what it was built for cannot now be fully determined, yet it has the appearance of having been a lunette. If it had been connected with the main work, traces of the palisades intersecting it should be plainly visible, for the ground immediately surrounding it is undisturbed, but there is no indication of any such connection. In all probability a small building or palisaded enclosure once occupied this point, for the purpose of defending the boat landing and insuring a supply of water from the springs at the foot of the plateau. In fact, the occupation of this position would seem to be imperative, as the command of the river front, springs, etc., would have been of great importance in case of trouble with the Indians.



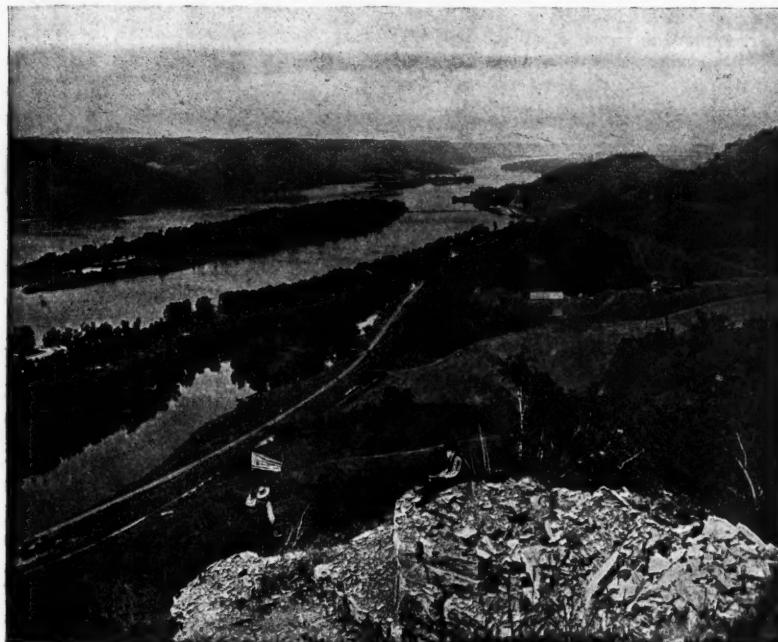
REMAINS OF OLD FIRE-PLACE AT THE FRENCH POST.

The northern part seems to have had no other defense than the walls of the buildings themselves. In the southern part there is good evidence that there was a palisade, there being a low embankment around that portion. There is no surface indication of a ditch or anything to show where the line of palisades stood, but the embankment is composed of refuse, such as bones, ashes, slag, etc., which were probably deposited along the palisades for convenience, and perhaps to strengthen them. It will also be noticed that while the ground plan of this work is somewhat odd, yet as a whole it is well adapted for defense. The southwest corner is evidently a bastion, while the southeast is very much of the same nature.

On the northern side, outside of the railroad right-of-way and beyond

the ruins, there are a few ashes which may have been dumped there or may have been caused by burning brush when the land was being cleared, but there is no evidence of any buildings at that point. The presence of stone protruding through the surface would require considerable quarrying to make room for a building.

Since the above was written I made further examination of this old post, on the 12th and 13th of April last, and set two men at work digging there,



LANDSCAPE VIEW OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. NEAR CENTRE OF PICTURE THE SITE OF FRENCH POST.

but I did not learn very much more, however, from these supplementary excavations. Along the exterior ridge in front of the blacksmith-shop, at the southwest bastion there were traces of the palisades in the sand; at one place there were five posts which were burned to charcoal, and at another were traces of decayed posts. I judged that the charred ones were five inches in diameter. I also found a few scraps of iron, a flattened bullet, and an old gun-flint, at different points on the site.

The two drawings are from photographs taken after the hearths were

uncovered. The fire-place seen in the smaller picture is that marked *D* on the plan. In the other or general landscape view, the fort site is to be looked for just about opposite the wood-pile seen to the right of the railroad, recognized by the bright reflection from its top of the sun's rays. The peak on the right farther up the river is Trempeleau mountain, seen nearly in its entirety.

J. H. Lewis

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

LINCOLN'S RESTORATION POLICY FOR VIRGINIA

THE TRUTH BROUGHT TO LIGHT

During the years 1876-79 the writer was associated with the attorney-general of Virginia in the defense of what were known as "The Gold Cases." These were actions at law brought in the federal court at Richmond by the United States as plaintiff, against Ex-Governor William Smith and other parties who had been officers of the commonwealth in April, 1865, claiming of the defendants money of the state of Virginia which the governor had drawn out of the banks on the eve of the evacuation of Richmond, and paid to these parties on account of their official salaries.

In the course of the trial certain testimony was given by Governor Smith and Judge Henry W. Thomas of great historic value and importance. The testimony of Judge Thomas was of especial interest as bearing upon the question how far Mr. Lincoln was prepared to go, and did actually go, in putting into execution his admitted views in favor of the immediate restoration of the Southern States, more especially Virginia, to the Union. Recently, in glancing over Admiral Porter's *Incidents of the Civil War*, and reading his account of Mr. Lincoln's visit to Richmond, the importance of Judge Thomas's testimony became too clear to admit of further delay in giving it to the public. Admiral Porter's account, so far as it relates to the subject of this paper, is as follows:

"Next morning, at ten o'clock, Mr. John A. Campbell, late justice of the supreme court of the United States, sent a request to be allowed to come on board with General Weitzel. He wanted to call on the President. He came on board and spent an hour. The President and himself seemed to be enjoying themselves very much, to judge from their laughter.

I did not go down to the cabin. In about an hour General Weitzel and Mr. Campbell came on deck, asked for a boat, and were landed.

I went down below for a moment, and the President said: 'Admiral, I am sorry you were not here when Mr. Campbell was on board. He has gone on shore happy. I gave him a written permission to allow the state legislature to convene in the capitol in the absence of all other government.'

I was rather astonished at this piece of information. I felt that this course would bring about complications, and wondered how it had all come to pass. I found it had all been done by the persuasive tongue of Mr. Campbell, who had promised the President that if the legislature of Virginia could meet in the halls of the confederate congress, it would

vote Virginia right back into the Union, that it would be a delicate compliment paid to Virginia which would be appreciated, etc.

Weitzel backed up Mr. Campbell, and the President was won over to agree to what would have been a most humiliating thing if it had been accomplished.

When the President told me all that had been done, and that General Weitzel had gone on shore with an order in his pocket to let the legislature meet, I merely said : 'Mr. President, I suppose you remember that this city is under military jurisdiction, and that no courts, legislature, or civil authority can exercise any power without the sanction of the general commanding the army. This order of yours should go through General Grant, who would inform you that Richmond was under martial law; and I am sure he would protest against this arrangement of Mr. Campbell's.'

The President's common-sense took in the situation at once. 'Why,' he said, 'Weitzel made no objection, and he commands here.'

'That is because he is Mr. Campbell's particular friend, and wished to gratify him; besides, I don't think he knows much about anything but soldiering. General Shepley would not have preferred such a request.'

'Run and stop them,' exclaimed the President, 'and get my order back! Well, I came near knocking all the fat into the fire, didn't I?'

To make things sure I had an order written to General Weitzel and signed by the President, as follows : 'Return my permission to the legislature of Virginia to meet, and don't allow it to meet at all.' There was an ambulance wagon at the landing, and giving the order to an officer I said to him, 'Jump into that wagon, and kill the horse if necessary, but catch the carriage which carried General Weitzel and Mr. Campbell, and deliver this order to the general.'

The carriage was caught after it reached the city. The old wagon horse had been a trotter in his day, and went his three minutes. The general and Mr. Campbell were surprised. The President's order was sent back, and they never returned to try and reverse the decision.

Mr. Campbell evidently saw that his scheme of trying to put the state legislature in session with the sanction of the President had failed, and that it was useless to try it again. It was a clever dodge to soothe the wounded feelings of the south, and no doubt was kindly meant by the late Justice Campbell; but what a howl it would have raised at the North! . . . [pp. 305-6.]

'Yes,' the President answered, 'let us go. I seem to be "putting my foot into it" here all the time. Bless my soul! how Seward would have preached, and read Puffendorf, Vattel, and Grotius to me if he had been here when I gave Campbell permission to let the legislature meet! I'd never have heard the last of it. Seward is a small compendium of international law himself and laughs at my "horse sense," which I pride myself on, and yet I put my foot into that thing about Campbell with my eyes wide open. If I were you I don't think I would repeat that joke yet awhile. People might laugh at you for knowing so much, and more than the President! I am afraid that the most of my learning lies in my heart more than in my head.' [p. 309.]

It is but fair to the admiral to note that in another connection, page 313, he says: "I made it a rule during the war to write down at night before retiring to rest what had occurred during each day."

Having heard Judge Thomas's sworn evidence above referred to and below recited, it is needless to add that I read Admiral Porter's narrative with astonishment, and at once began an investigation of the subject. I read the account which General Grant gives of the matter on pages 505-6 of the second volume of his *Memoirs*, as follows:

"While I was in pursuit of General Lee the President went to Richmond in company with Admiral Porter, and on board his flagship. He found the people of that city in great consternation. The leading citizens among the people who had remained at home surrounded him, anxious that something should be done to relieve them from suspense. General Weitzel was not then in the city, having taken offices in one of the neighboring villages after his troops had succeeded in subduing the conflagration which they had found in progress on entering the confederate capital. The President sent for him, and on his arrival a short interview was had on board the vessel, Admiral Porter and a leading citizen of Virginia being also present. After this interview the President wrote an order in about these words, which I quote from memory: 'General Weitzel is authorized to permit the body calling itself the legislature of Virginia to meet for the purpose of recalling the Virginia troops from the confederate armies.' Immediately some of the gentlemen composing that body wrote out a call for a meeting and had it published in their papers. This call, however, went very much farther than Mr. Lincoln had contemplated, as he did not say the 'legislature of Virginia,' but 'the body which called itself the legislature of Virginia.' Mr. Stanton saw the call as published in the northern papers the very next issue, and took the liberty of countering the order authorizing any meeting of the legislature or any other body, and this notwithstanding the fact that the President was nearer the spot than he was.

This was characteristic of Mr. Stanton. He was a man who never questioned his own authority, and who always did in war time what he wanted to do."

By way of preface to Judge Thomas's evidence it should be remarked that he is a gentleman of high character, capacity, and position, having been second auditor of the state in April, 1865, lieutenant-governor after the war, for years a circuit judge, and at all times recognized as one of the most cautious, well-balanced, and accurate lawyers in the commonwealth. His testimony was given in support of the main point of Governor Smith's defense, which was that he had drawn and expended this money as governor of Virginia, in the public service and for the public good, in the preservation of order and the institutions of civil society in that debatable ground from which the Confederate government and forces had retired, and over which the United States had as yet established no settled authority. Judge Thomas himself vouches for the correctness of the following record of his testimony, he having read every line of it; indeed every word, with the specific exceptions indicated, being now in my possession in his handwriting.

It is also of consequence to note that, when Judge Thomas prepared

and sent the writer this sketch, he had not, neither had the writer, examined the files of the *Whig*, nor was either aware of what they contained, and Judge Campbell's pamphlet—also below quoted—had not even been published. Judge Thomas's draught of his testimony is as follows :

" Early in April, when it was known, after the fall of Richmond, that Mr. Lincoln was coming there, it was deemed advisable to hold a public meeting, with the view of expressing such views as would tend to show that we were willing to accept the situation, and to declare our purpose to renounce all opposition to the restoration of civil government under the authority of the government of the United States. The meeting was held in the room adjoining the *Whig* office, and the proceedings were published in the Richmond papers.

Judge Campbell, Mr. Myers (deceased), and myself were appointed a committee to confer with the President and submit the resolutions. This we did, and Mr. Lincoln was much pleased with the views presented by us. . . .

In the conversation I had with the President upon that occasion, reference was made to the consequences which might ensue from the condition in which we were placed—the absence of civil government, the demoralization prevailing, and our utter inability to control the passions and excited feelings of a part at least of our community—and I remarked, 'Mr. President, we would all be much gratified if you would send Governor Pierpont here as early as possible, so that civil order may be re-established.' I recollect Mr. Lincoln's action and utterance. He said he did not regard the division of Virginia as permanent, and that the matter, if tested in the courts, would, he thought, result in overthrowing it, that it could only be justified as a war measure, and therefore he did not want Mr. Pierpont. 'The government that took Virginia out is the government that should bring her back, and is the government that alone can effect it. I shall appoint a committee for the purpose of summoning the governor and the legislature to meet at an early date in Richmond for this action, and I shall direct General Weitzel to issue you passes through General Grant's lines; I presume (he added), you will need none in passing General Lee's; and I shall take care that you have safe conduct in the discharge of this duty, as also those you may summon, in repairing to the capitol. They must come here to the very place they went out of the Union, to come back; and your people will doubtless all return, and we shall soon have old Virginia back again.' . . .

I recollect distinctly his replying to my suggestion that we could get the members of the existing legislature in session without difficulty. 'But no,' he said, 'the government that took the state out must bring her back.' My impression is that Mr. Lincoln asked who was governor at the time of the secession of the state, and my reply was Letcher. He was the man, then, to come and to participate in the action of the legislature; and Smith, who was the present governor, was to be here and ratify it. . . .

He proposed that messengers should be dispatched to summon these gentlemen, and, if my memory serves me correctly, that General J. R. Anderson and a gentleman who then represented Richmond, and myself, with others, should undertake the task. . . .

The orders were given to General Weitzel, and passes in conformity thereto issued by General Weitzel, by order of the President. I have mine now. Before, however, we could act, the passes were revoked. This was done immediately after his return."

In the brief sketch of Judge Thomas, his modest and retiring nature

and his kindly spirit should have been mentioned. The first characteristic explains if it does not excuse the delay in the publication of this article. He repeatedly declined "to obtrude his reminiscences upon the country," while heartily approving any attempt to rescue and preserve this bit of history. To the regret of the writer, he struck out from the record certain quaint and characteristic remarks of Mr. Lincoln, which I distinctly recall as recited in his testimony in court, and which he did not dispute, but protested that some of these remarks and expressions reflected somewhat upon certain persons still living, as to whom the President freely used popular nicknames and phrases not altogether complimentary.

The few additions, therefore, to his written statement rest upon my authority alone, and I deem myself entirely within the kindly limitations imposed by Judge Thomas, when adding to his own recollections of his evidence, that he testified that Judge John A. Campbell (of the United States supreme court, and later of the confederate war office) was chairman of the committee appointed by the citizens' meeting to wait upon Mr. Lincoln; that Mr. Lincoln, when he spoke of Governor Smith, called him "Extra Billy"—which title, originating in a half-sneering, political reference, was ever after lovingly applied to the old hero by Virginians all over the country—and that he added, making use of the expression "By Jove," or some such expletive, and smiting the table with his clinched fist, "I want that old Game Cock back here."

What is meant, and all that is meant by these additions, is, that Judge Thomas's testimony, as given at the trial, bristled with vivid details which convinced every hearer of its truth, and that much of the vigor and quaint homeliness which enlivened the court recital of Mr. Lincoln's utterances is wanting in the above transcription; but with these qualifications it is, according to my best and quite distinct recollection, the same testimony which Judge Thomas gave in the trial of the Gold Cases in 1879.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "Reminiscence and Documents relating to the Civil War during the year 1865," Judge Campbell has given his own recollection of these occurrences, a paper prepared by Mr. Lincoln expressive of his views upon the subject of peace and restoration, with certain testimony of Mr. Secretary Stanton bearing upon the main point to which this investigation is directed. As this pamphlet may not be readily accessible to the readers of this article, we quote what it contains (pages 38-44) bearing upon the history of this matter:

"Richmond was evacuated the 2d of April, and was captured on the 3d of April. I informed the Secretary of War that I should not leave Richmond, and that I should take an opportunity to see President Lincoln on the subject of peace, and would be glad to

have an authority to do so, but that I would do so if an occasion arose. President Lincoln came to the city on the 4th of April, in less than forty-eight hours from the departure of the confederate President and his cabinet. Richmond had experienced a great calamity from a conflagration. I represented the conditions to him, and requested that no requisitions on the inhabitants be made of restraint of any sort, save as to police and preservation of order; not to exact oaths, interfere with churches, etc. He assented to this, the General Weitzel and Military Governor Shepley cordially assenting. On the following day I visited him on the *Malvern* gunboat on which he had come into Richmond upon the 4th. He had prepared a paper, which he commented on as he read each clause. The paper was not signed nor dated. This paper he handed to me, and on the 13th of April I returned it to General Ord, by direction of the President. I retained a copy, as I informed that General I should do. This is a copy:

1. As to peace, I have said before, and now repeat, that three things are indispensable: The restoration of the national authority throughout all the states.
2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to congress, and in preceding documents.
3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of hostilities and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, and not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. I now add that it seems useless for me to be more specific with those who will not say that they are ready for the indispensable terms, even on condition to be named by themselves.

If there be any who are ready for those indispensable terms on any condition whatever, let them say so, and state their conditions, so that such conditions can be strictly known and considered. It is further added, that the remission of confiscation being within the executive power, if the war be now further persisted in by those opposing the government, the making of confiscated property, at the least, to bear the additional cost will be insisted on; but that confiscations (except in case of third party intervening interests) will be remitted to the people of any state which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops and other supports from further resistance to the government. What is now said as to remission of confiscation has no reference to supposed property in slaves.'

On the 13th of April, the day before the assassination of the President, General Ord addressed me a letter, stating that by the instructions of the President he wrote, that since the paper was written on the subject of reconvening the gentlemen who, under the insurrectionary government, had acted as the legislature of Virginia, the object had in view and the convention of such gentlemen is unnecessary; he wishes the paper withdrawn. I sent to General Ord the only paper I had ever received, being that I have copied.

After the President had read and expounded that paper he delivered it to me. It was not dated nor signed, nor directed to me or other person. When he had concluded this he said he had been meditating a plan, but had come to no conclusion upon the subject; that he should not do so till he returned to City Point; that if he was satisfied he would write to General Weitzel.

This had reference to a convention of the legislature which had been sitting during the preceding winter and recognized the confederate states. The President said 'he had a government in Virginia—the Pierpont government. It had but a small margin, and he

was not disposed to increase it. He wanted the very legislature which had been sitting up yonder—pointing to the capitol—to come together and to vote to restore Virginia to the Union and recall her soldiers from the confederate army.'

The suggestion came from the President, and its object was plainly stated. As the suggestion had some tolerance for the existing state governments, I was pleased to hear it and strongly supported the suggestion. I told him 'there had been discussions during the winter in respect to both peace and union; none could be found to make peace. Each man would now make his own peace.'"

It appears that Edwin M. Stanton was examined in relation to this intercourse before the committee appointed for the examination of charges preferred against President Johnson in 1867. He testified before that committee that "President Lincoln went to the city of Richmond after its capture, and some intercourse took place between him and Judge Campbell, formerly of the supreme court of the United States, and General Weitzel, which resulted in the call of the rebel legislature to Richmond. Mr. Lincoln on his return from Richmond reconsidered that matter. The policy of undertaking to restore the government through the medium of rebel organizations was very much opposed by many persons, and very strongly and vehemently opposed by myself. I had several earnest conversations with Mr. Lincoln on the subject, and advised that any effort to reorganize the government should be under the federal government solely, and to treat the rebel organizations as null and void. On the day preceding his death a conversation took place between him, the attorney-general, and myself upon the subject, at the executive mansion. An hour or two afterwards, and about the middle of the afternoon, Mr. Lincoln came over to the war department and renewed the conversation. After I had repeated my reasons against allowing the rebel legislatures to assemble or the rebel authorities to have any participation in the business of reorganization, he sat down at my desk and wrote a telegram to General Weitzel and handed it to me. 'There,' said he, 'I think this will suit you.' I told him, 'No: it did not go far enough; that the members of the legislature would probably come to Richmond; that General Weitzel ought to be directed to prohibit their assembling.' He took up his pen again and made that addition to the telegram and signed it. He handed it to me. I said it was exactly right. It was transmitted immediately to General Weitzel, and was the last act ever performed by Mr. Lincoln in the war department."

Judge Campbell adds: "General Ord had succeeded General Weitzel and communicated the intelligence to me."

But perhaps the most interesting and conclusive contribution to the history of this matter is the contemporaneous record in the daily press of Richmond. Most of the newspaper offices of the city were laid in ashes

at the great conflagration of April 3, 1865; only the *Whig* and *Sentinel* escaped. Whether or not the *Sentinel* was published continuously during the early days of Federal occupation, I have not been able to determine absolutely, but am inclined to believe it was not. Certainly I have failed to find any numbers of the paper covering the period between the 3d and the 15th of April. The *Times* was the first paper started after the great disaster, but its earliest issue was later than the last of these dates. So far as appears, then, to the *Whig* alone we must look for the daily record of events in Richmond just after the evacuation. Immediately upon this change of masters this newspaper, the *Whig*, passed under the control and conduct of a Northern man of Union sentiments, and was promptly issued Tuesday evening, April 4, amid the smoking ruins of the city, with the sanction of the United States military authorities, as a Union journal, in a single sheet about the size of an ordinary Sunday-school paper.

It may be pertinent to remind the average reader that—as the columns of this journal abundantly show—the confederate rear guard retired from Richmond very early Monday morning, April 3, and the federals entered the burning city close upon their heels; that Admiral Porter brought Mr. Lincoln up the river in the gunboat *Malvern*, Tuesday, April 4, landing at Rockett's about three P. M.; that the President walked through the city, for the most part east and north of the "burnt district," to General Weitzel's headquarters, which were in President Davis's mansion at the corner of 12th and Clay streets, and that he spent that evening meeting and conferring with military officers of the United States and the leading citizens of Richmond, returning to the *Malvern* to sleep that night, and going back down the river to City Point say about noon the next day, which was Wednesday the 5th.

Several reportorial notices of and editorial comments upon what it was pleased to term "the first step toward the reinstatement of the Old Dominion in the Union" appear in the columns of the *Whig* during the week beginning Friday, April 7, and ending Friday, April 14—the day of Mr. Lincoln's assassination. Suffice it to say, that the *Whig* commended and advocated the proposed scheme for the immediate rehabilitation of the state just so long as the military authorities of the United States appeared to approve it, and denied all sympathy with it when their approbation and co-operation were withdrawn. We give below all the *Whig's* references to the matter which tend to the clear and consecutive development of the facts as they actually occurred. The earliest notice is as follows, and is found in the "Evening *Whig*, Friday, April 7:"

**"AN IMPORTANT MOVEMENT—RECONSTRUCTION—MEETING OF THE VIRGINIA
LEGISLATURE.**

An informal meeting of the members of the Virginia legislature remaining in the city was held in the Law building, Franklin street, this morning, for the consideration of the proposition of President Lincoln to re-assemble the legislature for the purpose of authorizing a convention to take Virginia back into the bonds of the Union. The proposition of the President was laid before the meeting. A formal meeting was appointed to take place at four P. M. this afternoon, to which time the meeting adjourned."

Then, next day, Saturday, April 8, we have the following:

"CORRECTION.

The statement that there would be a meeting last evening of such members of the Virginia legislature as still remained in the city was not strictly correct. There was no meeting of legislators or others, but simply an informal conference and consultation of private individuals, among whom were five or six members of the legislature. The motive of these gentlemen in coming together was to hear from Judge Campbell the terms upon which President Lincoln had expressed himself as willing that Virginia might return to the Union. Messrs. Joseph R. Anderson, David I. Burr, Nathaniel P. Tyler, and H. W. Thomas were appointed a committee to inform the legislature and Governor Smith of President Lincoln's terms; and Judge Campbell was requested to accompany the committee, who were to leave the city so soon as passports could be procured. It was said to be probable they would get off this morning.

We prefer not to state our understanding of Mr. Lincoln's terms, as our information on that head is not official."

The next publication of importance, and the most important of all, appearing in the issues both of Wednesday the 12th and Thursday the 13th of April, is the following address:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

The undersigned, members of the legislature of the state of Virginia, in connection with a number of the citizens of the state, whose names are attached to this paper, in view of the evacuation of the city of Richmond by the confederate government, and its occupation by the military authorities of the United States, the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, and the suspension of the jurisdiction of the civil power of the state, are of opinion that an immediate meeting of the General Assembly of the state is called for by the exigencies of the situation. The consent of the military authorities of the United States to the sessions of the legislature in Richmond, in connection with the governor and lieutenant governor, to their free deliberation upon public affairs, and to the ingress and departure of all its members under safe conducts, has been obtained.

The United States authorities will afford transportation from any point under their control to any of the persons before mentioned.

The matters to be submitted to the legislature are the restoration of peace to the state of Virginia, and the adjustment of questions involving life, liberty, and property, that have arisen in the state as a consequence of the war.

We, therefore, earnestly request the governor, lieutenant-governor, and members of the legislature to repair to this city by the 25th of April (instant).

We understand that full protection to persons and property will be afforded in the state, and we recommend to peaceful citizens to remain at their homes and pursue their usual avocations, with confidence that they will not be interrupted.

We earnestly solicit the attendance in Richmond, on or before the 25th of April (instant), of the following persons, citizens of Virginia, to confer with us as to the best means of restoring peace to the state of Virginia. We have procured safe conduct from the military authorities of the United States for them to enter the city and to depart without molestation: Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, A. T. Caperton, Wm. C. Rives, John Letcher, A. H. H. Stuart, R. L. Montague, Fayette McMullen, J. P. Holcombe, Alexander Rives, B. Johnson Barbour, James Barbour, Wm. L. Goggin, J. B. Baldwin, Thomas Gholson, Waller Staples, S. D. Miller, Thomas J. Randolph, Wm. T. Early, R. A. Claybrook, John Critcher, Wm. Towns, T. H. Eppes, and those other persons for whom passports have been procured and especially forwarded that we consider it to be unnecessary to mention.

(Signed) A. J. MARSHALL, Senator, Fauquier.
JAMES NEESON, Senator, Marion.
JAMES VENABLE, Senator-elect, Petersburg.
DAVID I. BURR, of House of Delegates, Richmond city.
DAVID J. SAUNDERS, of House of Delegates, Richmond city.
L. S. HALL, of House of Delegates, Wetzel county.
J. J. ENGLISH, of House of Delegates, Henrico county.
WM. AMBERS, of House of Delegates, Chesterfield county.
A. M. KEILY, of House of Delegates, Petersburg.
H. W. THOMAS, Second Auditor of Virginia.
ST. L. L. MONCURE, Chief Clerk Second Auditor's office.
JOSEPH MAYO, Mayor city of Richmond.
ROBERT HOWARD, Clerk Hustings Court, Richmond city.
THOMAS U. DUDLEY, Sergeant Richmond city.
LITTLETON TAZEWELL, Commonwealth's Attorney, Richmond city.
WM. T. JOYNES, Judge of Circuit Court, Petersburg.
JOHN A. MEREDITH, Judge of Circuit Court, Richmond.
WM. H. LYONS, Judge of Hustings Court, Richmond.
WMS. C. WICKHAM, Member of Congress, Richmond District.
BENJ. S. EWELL, President of William and Mary College.
NAT. TYLER, Editor Richmond *Enquirer*.
R. F. WALKER, Publisher of *Examiner*.
J. R. ANDERSON, Richmond.
R. R. HOWISON, Richmond.
W. GODDIN, Richmond.
P. G. BAYLY, Richmond.
F. J. SMITH, Richmond.
FRANKLIN STEARNS, Henrico.
JOHN LYON, Petersburg.
THOMAS B. FISHER, Fauquier.
WM. M. HARRISON, Charles City.

(Signed) CYRUS HALL, Ritchie.
THOMAS W. GARNETT, King and Queen.
JAMES A. SCOTT, Richmond.

I concur in the preceding recommendation.

J. A. CAMPBELL.

Approved for publication in the *Whig* and in handbill form.

G. WEITZEL, Major General commanding.

RICHMOND, VA., April 11, 1865."

And last of all, from the *Whig* of Friday, April 14, we copy the following military order.

" HEADQUARTERS DEPT. VIRGINIA,
RICHMOND, VA., April 13, 1865. }

Owing to recent events, the permission for the re-assembling of the gentlemen recently acting as the legislature of Virginia is rescinded. Should any of the gentlemen come to the city under the notice of re-assembling, already published, they will be furnished passports to return to their homes.

Any of the persons named in the call signed by J. A. Campbell and others, who are found in the city twelve hours after the publication of this notice, will be subject to arrest, unless they are residents of the city.

E. O. C. ORD, Major-General commanding the Department."

In the light of the evidence above collated, need we refer again to Admiral Porter's account of how he ran down the entire scheme for re-assembling the Virginia legislature on that Wednesday morning (April 5), when, with that old three-minute ambulance horse, he overhauled the flying carriage containing General Weitzel and Judge Campbell, nor how the admiral made the President admit his clumsy ignorance and beg the admiral not to expose him? No: it is not treasonable to say of the admiral's narrative that "it does not read like history," and it is but fair to add that perhaps it was not really intended to read, or to be read, in any such prosaic and critical style. The whole scope of the book puts it outside the category of grave history.

But General Grant's book is of very different character, and is certain to be largely consulted by future historians of the civil war. It is the more to be regretted, therefore, that the illustrious author appears to have been led into error about this particular matter. Passing by some minor details as to which we raise no issue, it will be noted that the general differs with the admiral in that he admits the "restoration" scheme and policy survived the disastrous set-back of the 5th of April; indeed, the general seems never to have heard of that disaster. He quotes the words of President Lincoln's order given after the interview on Admiral Porter's

flag-ship, the *Malvern*, "from memory." Memory of what? Of those words and that order certainly, but whether as read by himself or as repeated to him by another, it would be very interesting to discover.

Of course Judge Campbell is the "leading citizen" referred to as having been present at the *Malvern* interview (though not strictly a "citizen of Virginia"), and Judge Campbell not only publishes a copy of the paper handed him on that occasion, being the only paper he ever received from Mr. Lincoln, and which contained no reference to the meeting of the legislature, but he also says that Mr. Lincoln, while expressing verbally and freely to him (as he had done to Judge Thomas) his views as to "a convention of the legislature" and "a government for Virginia," at the same time distinctly stated that he was only "meditating a plan," had "come to no conclusion," and was not yet prepared to commit anything to writing on this subject.

The general says the "call" for the legislative convention, afterwards published upon the basis of the President's order, "went very much further than Mr. Lincoln had contemplated;" and that Mr. Stanton, seeing this "call," immediately "took the liberty of countering the order, . . . notwithstanding the fact that the President was nearer the spot than he was." Now, is it conceivable that Mr. Lincoln, who was the author and sponsor of this movement, never saw this "call," although Mr. Stanton saw it in "the very next issue of the northern papers"? If Mr. Stanton saw it, is it not certain that he showed it to Mr. Lincoln during their prolonged and repeated discussions of this subject? And if Mr. Lincoln saw it, when and where did he ever express his dissatisfaction with it, upon the ground mentioned by General Grant or upon any other ground? In short, this entire statement about this "call" and Mr. Stanton's suppression of it, and "the order" authorizing it before Mr. Lincoln's return to Washington, is totally swept away by the sworn deposition of Mr. Stanton himself, who relates how difficult it was for him and the attorney-general to induce Mr. Lincoln, after his return to Washington, to abandon his policy and recall his order.*

Mr. Stanton undoubtedly was a man who seldom "questioned his own authority;" he may even at times have assumed authority to counterman one of Lincoln's orders, but he certainly did not do so in this instance.

We have yet two further contributions to make to the record of this interesting crisis. It will be remembered that Mr. Lincoln, during the conference on board the *Malvern*, said that while he was meditating a plan, he had as yet come to no conclusion upon the subject of a convention of the legislature, and should not do so until he returned to City

* See pages 43 and 44 of Judge Campbell's pamphlet.

Point; but that, if he was then satisfied, he would write to General Weitzel.* This was on the morning of the 5th of April. It is of course clearly to be inferred from the documentary and other evidence already submitted, that he was satisfied and did write authorizing the issue of the "call" of April 11; but we are happily able to establish the fact that he did so by direct and satisfactory proof.

The very intelligent and accomplished librarian of the commonwealth tells me that some years ago he mentioned the subject of this "call" to a gentleman who represented himself as having been a member of General Weitzel's staff in April, 1865, and that the gentleman said he well remembered the paper, and related the following circumstance connected with it: General Weitzel was speaking, in this gentleman's presence, to a brother officer, of his intention to issue such a "call" as Mr. Lincoln had suggested, when the officer addressed, who seems to have been more than a mere soldier, asked whether he had the President's directions in writing, and, upon Weitzel's replying that he had only verbal instructions, cautioned him not to take the step until he had authority and directions in black and white signed by the President himself, as "the politicians" might make it cost him his commission. The gentleman further informed my friend the librarian that Weitzel admitted the wisdom of the caution and awaited written instructions from Mr. Lincoln, which he received before issuing the "call."

Yet once more, and finally. General Joseph R. Anderson, who was chairman of the committee of invitation appointed to carry out the objects of this "call," † a few days ago handed me a very important paper, which has never been published. It is Judge Campbell's report to this committee, also laid before the afternoon meeting of Friday, April 7 (see *Whig* of 8th), of the result of his conferences with President Lincoln. The paper handed me is not the original report, but a copy made therefrom under General Anderson's supervision. He returned the original to Judge Campbell, who wrote for it, but exacted the condition that Judge Campbell should certify this paper as a true copy, which he has accordingly done in his own handwriting upon the face of the paper itself. It reads as follows:

"RICHMOND, VA., 7th April, 1865.

Gen. Joseph R. Anderson and others, Committee, etc.

GENTLEMEN,—I have had, since the evacuation of Richmond, two conversations with Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States. My object was to secure for the citizens of

* Campbell's Pamphlet, page 41.

† Judge Thomas's testimony, and extract from the *Whig* of April 8.

Richmond and the inhabitants of the state of Virginia who had come under the military authority of the United States as much gentleness and forbearance as could be possibly extended.

The conversations had relation to the establishment of a government for Virginia, the requirement of oaths of allegiance from the citizens, and the terms of settlement with the United States. With the concurrence and sanction of General Weitzel he assented to the application not to require oaths of allegiance from the citizens. He stated that he would send to General Weitzel his decision upon the question of a government for Virginia. This letter was received on Thursday and was read by me. It authorized General Weitzel to grant a safe conduct to the legislature of Virginia to meet at Richmond to deliberate and to return to their homes at the end of their session. I am informed by General Weitzel that he will issue whatever orders that may be necessary, and will furnish all the facilities of transportation, etc., to the members of the legislature to meet in this city, and that the governor, lieutenant-governor, and public men of the state will be included in the orders. The object of the invitation is for the government of Virginia to determine whether they will administer the laws in connection with the authorities of the United States and under the constitution of the United States. I understand from Mr. Lincoln, if the condition be fulfilled that no attempt would be made to establish or sustain any other authority.

My conversation with President Lincoln upon the terms of a settlement was answered in writing; that is, he left with me a written memorandum of the substance of his answer. He states as indispensable conditions of a settlement the restoration of the authority of the United States over the whole of the states, and the cessation of hostilities by the disbanding of the army, and that there shall be no receding on the part of the executive from his position on the slavery question. The latter proposition was explained to mean that the executive action on the subject of slavery, so far as it had been declared in messages, proclamations, and other official acts, must pass for what they were worth—that he would not recede from his position, but that this would not debar action by other authorities of the government.

I suppose that, if the proclamation of the President be valid as law, it has already operated and vested rights.

I believe that full confidence may be placed in General Weitzel's fulfillment of his promises to afford facilities to the legislature, and that its members may return after they have concluded their business, without interruption.

Mr. Lincoln in his memorandum referred to what would be his action under the confiscation acts. He stated that when the property had not been condemned and sold he would make a universal release of the forfeitures that had been incurred in any state which would now promptly recognize the authority of the United States and withdraw its troops; but that if the war be persisted in, that the confiscated property must be regarded as a resource from which the expenses of the war might be supported.

His memorandum contains no article upon the penalties imposed upon persons, but in his oral communications he intimated that there was scarcely any one who might not have a discharge for the asking. I understand from the statement, though the words did not exactly imply it, that a universal amnesty would be granted if peace were now concluded.

In my intercourse I strongly urged the propriety of an armistice. This was done after the preparation of his memorandum. He agreed to consider the subject, but no answer

has been received. I suppose that, if he assents, the matter will be decided and executed between Generals Grant and Lee.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed)

J. A. CAMPBELL.

A true copy. J. A. CAMPBELL."

General Anderson remembers that during the reading of this paper to his committee, when he came to that portion which contained Mr. Lincoln's expressions upon the subject of amnesty, Judge Campbell stopped, and said that it occurred to him to mention, as illustrative of the magnanimity of the President upon this subject, that he remarked at the conference, "I would gladly pardon Jeff. Davis himself, if he would ask it."

But the special importance of this report lies in the fact that it shows conclusively that, after Mr. Lincoln had returned to City Point and reflected quietly over the whole matter, he adhered to the views he had thrown out in conversation with Judge Campbell and Judge Thomas, and wrote to Weitzel (not to Campbell) a letter which Campbell read, the substance of which he gives in the report, and which fully authorized the issue of the call of April 11.

And now, to sum up briefly, we think these three positions have been clearly established : to wit, that

1st, As late as the afternoon of the 13th of April, 1865, General Weitzel and the other military authorities of the United States in Virginia were going on in good faith to carry out Mr. Lincoln's policy of immediate restoration, and they regarded the address or "call" of the 11th of April as a fair expression of that policy and the first step in execution of it.

2d, Mr. Lincoln himself was not only the author and sponsor of that policy and that "call," but as late as the afternoon of the 13th of April, 1865—four days after the surrender of General Lee, and when he must be concluded to have seen the "call"—he had found no reason to abandon this policy or to repudiate this call.

3d, To Edwin M. Stanton belongs the responsibility (or glory) of breaking up the policy of restoration, and inaugurating in its stead the policy of reconstruction.

A large, flowing cursive signature in black ink. The signature reads "Robert S. Storer" and is written in a single, continuous, elegant script.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

JOHN W. HAMERSLEY

"Whether or no we shall roam the hereafter
Together, as once in the days that are dead,
I hold that this life, with its tears and laughter,
Is blessed, thrice blessed, for the love that it bred.

Yes, yes, we shall meet at this life's seeming ending,
Love more, and not less, not forgetting nor dazed ;
We have lived, we have loved, and in measure ascending,
We shall live, we shall love, when the curtain is raised."

Forsan et haec olim meminisse Juvabit.—VIRGIL.
JOHN JERVIS BERESFORD, M.A.

According to that most truthful remark of Sir Henry Taylor, "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." And so it is in this, a lesser world, this mongrel city which knows little of its best citizens. It is a sorrowful fact, that in the history of communities, the most worthy, the most useful, the most devoted, and the most self-sacrificing seldom attain marked celebrity, nor, as a rule, are their services or examples generally recognized. A man to be prominent among the masses must possess unlimited force, or push, or be the creature of a party or the representative of a popular idea. This is especially the case in a very large city or state, and it is for this reason it has been conceded by philosophers that small states are more productive of great men than extensive empires. A great nation or a vast city like our own seldom permits the rise of the best, especially one of the old stock almost buried out of sight by the succeeding swarms of foreigners who fill our offices and streets, steal our taxes, and ignore if they are not ignorant of the few and heroic families who laid the basis of this metropolis, and, indeed, established the principles through which this New Amsterdam or New York has developed.

One of the representatives of an old family, an extraordinary man, passed from our midst on the evening of the 7th of June, 1889, with less notice in the newspapers than is usually accorded to successful men whose deaths are a benefit to the community. John W. Hamersley's death has left a void in many hearts that cannot be filled. He was one of the few who will be the more sincerely missed the longer those who knew him intimately live to remember him. He was born on the 24th of May, 1808, in Hanover square, New York, then one of the centres of fashion, opulence, and

business. His remote ancestor was originally from Provence, in France, and the earliest on this continent was a Huguenot who sought a home in America. The first of the family on record was Hugo le Kinge, who went over to England in the fourteenth century, established himself there, and from the estate he subsequently acquired the family took the name by which they are known in this country. The English branch is proud to acknowledge the American, and the family resemblances after such a long and distant separation are something not usually to be observed even among near kinsmen. Sir Hugh (which is English form for Hugo) was lord-mayor of London in 1620, and his portrait, by gift, came recently into the possession of the subject of this memoir.

William Hamersley, born in 1687, died August 3, 1752, was an officer in the British navy in the time of Queen Anne, settled in New York, embarked in mercantile pursuits, and married Lucretia von Grovenroort, a lady belonging to one of the old Dutch families of New York. Their second son, Andrew Hamersley, born 1725, was twice married: first, in Trinity church, in July, 1761, to Margaret Stelle—of French Protestant descent, belonging to Newport, Rhode Island, where the family house was standing a few years ago—who, having inherited, brought into the Hamersley family the rights of one of the lords proprietors of East New Jersey, of which holding her descendants have ever been specially proud. Their second son, Lewis Carré (who died November 4, 1853), married Elizabeth Finny of Accomack County, Virginia, who died March 30, 1870, in her eighty-ninth year, in her house, 257 Fifth Avenue. John William Hamersley, the subject of this memoir, was their second son.

Observing the peculiarities of our deceased friend, the purblind majority could not perceive the true and sterling character of the man. He was a gentle, genial gentleman, whose excessive politeness might have been mistaken at times for an appearance of policy, because he was so strongly influenced by fear of mistakes of judgment or of hurting the feelings of those with whom he came in contact. He resembled one of those Egyptian monuments, which, covered with ornamentation, are supposed to be of soft material from the delicacy and clearness of the chiseling, whereas they are of the hardest granite. He was a successful lawyer, of consummate tact and dexterity, until his large fortune converted him from an earnest worker into an elegant “looker-on in Vienna.”

If ever a man in these days of nullifidianism, or worse than Laodicean lukewarmness, could be a Protestant champion, he was such an one, whose spirit would have rejoiced the heart of Luther. He was also the decided opponent of High Churchism, and adhered heart and soul to the simplicity

of primitive Episcopalianism as it first manifested itself in this country. As an evidence of his earnestness, he published through Sampson Low's Son & Marston, London, in 1867, in a quaint and attractive form, a work entitled "A Chemical Change in the Eucharist," comprising four letters, showing the relations of faith to sense, a translation from the French of a noted work by a noted author, Jacques Abbadie, with an original preface. In this and many other lines he gave evidence of being a scholar of large attainments and a most observant traveler. Had he devoted himself to literature like his friend, associate, and legal room mate, John Lloyd Stephens, the explorer and traveler, he could have produced for the reading world journals of travel of equal value. His interesting reminiscences of the famous Lady Hester Stanhope were published, and he was capable of presenting vivid pictures of intercourse with the magnates of the East—Mohammed Ali, viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim, his victorious son, and others of contemporaneous influence and celebrity. By Ibrahim Pasha he was so well received that the Egyptian general offered to place young Hamersley at his side in his advance to Jerusalem, which he soon after undertook and executed at such a cost of life.

Mr. Hamersley's collections of curiosities gathered abroad were rare and valuable, but he seldom exhibited the contents of his storehouses; one of these, of coins and medals, is so precious that he made it a special bequest. It required intimacy to discover how much he knew and what treasures he possessed. He was one of the first, perhaps the very first American, to penetrate the great Pyramid and descend to the bottom of the well therein, which was said to communicate with the waters of the Nile. In fact, his boldness in venturing into dangerous places, coupled with his exquisite courtesy and manly independence, won for him the friendship of very distinguished people, at times when Americans were not especial favorites with aristocratic representatives of the old countries.

In more recent times, at his Friday evening gatherings in what he styled his "den," veritable *Noctes Atticae*, were assembled some of the most remarkable men of the day in every branch of art and science, military, naval, philosophical, etc., professionals as well as laics, representatives of every branch of business and every kind of specialism; nor were the reverend clergy wanting, of all ranks in the church hierarchy and ability of every evangelical belief.

In the basement room or apartment, this "den," elaborately fitted up and lighted, in which he held his *Noctes Atticae*—almost too brilliantly illuminated materially, but not so vividly alight with flame as it was spiritually with intellectuality—he dispensed an elegant hospitality. When it became

too crowded the meetings were adjourned to the more spacious drawing-rooms above, which witnessed not only "feasts of reason and flow of soul" but banquets worthy of the host and of the guests. He was in every sense a bountiful provider, and it can be honestly averred that he no sooner became aware of the peculiar taste of a visitor who was likely to return, than he took care that the latter should find his favorite brand and beverage ready to welcome him. These *Noctes Atticæ*, or *Ambrosianæ*,* can be most justly and truthfully compared to those famous gatherings in certain Parisian salons, wherein brilliant companies assembled around bright hosts and thereby rendered the amphitryon as renowned as the guests and their tournaments of wit and intellect. Such assemblages as those of Mr. Hamersley required in the host peculiar talents and consummate tact to make them a triumphant series of successes, such as they are universally acknowledged to have been.

These delightful Friday evenings, which continued year after year without the slightest eclipse or shadow, are not likely to find parallels in New York; and it is not at all probable that the "colonel," as he was saluted by those who "have us'd their dearest action in the tented field," will find a successor, or that his place with its manifold attractions will soon be filled, if, indeed, it can ever be at all.

A detailed and interesting account of these *Noctes Atticæ* was written quite a number of years since by the noted American philologist, Edward S. Gould, and published in the *Oriental Magazine* (Vol. II., No. 1, March, 1860), where it attracted much attention. A more circumstantial account was afterward drawn up by the author of this paper, who for a number of years made notes of those who appeared in "the den." It became at last too sad a task to continue the record, because death began to make such ravages that, year by year the veterans falling out, but a very, very few only of those who originally constituted the circle are now alive to throw a flower upon the last resting-place of the lamented central figure. Whoever did keep any tally of those who met at 255 Fifth avenue, and was a constant visitor, could recall his meeting there with all of the first men of the day in every direction of celebrity. The mere list would astonish with its variety and value. It is very seldom that a private citizen exerts himself to win distinction through such an elegant phase of hospitality, and his house was a rendezvous of hundreds upon hundreds who will never again

* Few are aware that such *salons* are not a French idea, but owed their origin to Greek thought. Four centuries B. C., in the time of Philip of Macedon, there was a literary club called "The Sixty," which met in the temple of Hercules; and the phrase "An old Joe" was known throughout Greece as "An old Sixty," equivalent to the "Chestnut" of to-day.

enjoy an equal opportunity of common intercourse or the salutation and entertainment of a more genial host. One who should have known him best said, "Mr. Hamersley had made a dozen trips to Europe and the East, and was possessed of conversational powers that could make the most of what he had seen. He was witty in repartee and prompt with anecdote, as well as accomplished and learned, had a great knowledge of history, particularly of dates, and manifested sterling traits of character. Whatever may have been his motives he never would accept any public office and always avoided every position of public trust. Honorable, true, and upright in active life, he was patient, nay heroic, in Christian endurance at the end; a self-sacrificing father, warmly beloved by friends, and endeared to all about him, whether in business or service." What is more and best of all, the same friend bears witness that he was an "earnest Christian." Nothing but regret follows his demise. He could not have left an enemy; he must have left a multitude of sorrowing friends. In almost every line he was a purist, and perhaps that in itself added to the misunderstanding of the man. Peace be to his ashes, but peace there must be, for he endeavored to do his duty thoroughly; and in his duty to his associates and fellow-men, beyond his immediate circle, he will leave behind an infinitely few of citizens upon whose tombs can be inscribed with so much truth as upon his own: "Here lies 'a gentle gentleman.'"

"Dear friends, when I am dead,
Think, sometimes say,
At morn, or noon, or point of dying day,
I wish that he were with us—had not fled.

For whether far or near,
In earth or sky,
To you, I think, I must be somehow nigh,
And such regret it would be sweet to hear."

JOHN JERVIS BERESFORD.

A large, handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John W. Hamersley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a prominent 'J' at the beginning and a 'D' at the end.

GROWTH OF A GREAT NATIONAL LIBRARY

1800-1889

The great library of congress, numbering now well on to a round million of books, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications, was born with the century. When it was finally decided by congress, after long and heated debate, that the seat of the government should be located upon the Potomac, far removed from the cities which at different times that body had occupied during the Revolutionary struggle, the more sagacious members were not unmindful that in their new location there would be the utmost need for a library of reference to which they might have ready access during the daily sessions. Thus it came about that at the very last session before the removal, the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated for this purpose, upon the motion of Samuel Livermore, a graduate of Princeton college and a senator from New Hampshire.

This sum was intended for the purchase of books and for the fitting up of a suitable library room in the new capitol building in the wilderness; and a joint committee of congress, with Senator Dexter of Massachusetts as chairman, was appointed to have direction of the matter. This committee expended about \$2,200 of the appropriation, and made their report at an early day in the first session held in the new capitol.

This report was referred to a new committee, of which the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke was a member. It is evident that the subject was a paramount one in that first session, for we find that this committee in turn reported in a few days, setting forth a series of resolutions looking to the establishment of a library upon a permanent basis and asking an annual appropriation for that purpose.

Upon these resolutions there were hot debates. The Federalists were disposed to make liberal appropriations for the new enterprise, one member going so far as to advocate the annual outlay of ten thousand dollars; while on the other hand the Democrats were opposed to the use of any considerable sum. An establishing act was finally passed, but for the next five or six years it seems that the increase of the little nucleus was dependent upon the uncertain chances of the contingent funds of the two houses of congress.

The first catalogue was issued in April, 1802, and gave the titles of

nine hundred and sixty-four volumes. In 1806, upon the urgent appeal of those most interested in the matter, an appropriation was made of one thousand dollars per annum for five years.

In 1811 this appropriation was extended to a period of five years longer. On the 24th of August, 1814, after the disastrous battle of Bladensburg, the British forces took possession of the new metropolis, the first object of their vandalism being the new capitol building. The two wings of what is now called the old building had been erected, and were connected by a wooden passageway extending across the space at present occupied by the great rotunda. Everything combustible in the building was put to the torch, the books of the library being used to kindle the fires. It was one of the most wanton outrages ever perpetrated by the soldiery of a civilized government. The collection at this time contained about three thousand volumes.

After this disaster to the enterprise, a new beginning was made by the purchase of the private library of ex-President Jefferson, numbering six thousand seven hundred volumes, for which the sum of \$23,950 was paid. The final vote upon the passage of the bill authorizing the purchase, at the price named, was eighty-one yeas and seventy-one nays.

Daniel Webster, then a member of congress from Massachusetts, opposed this purchase, and another member from the same state desired to have rejected all books of an atheistical, irreligious, and immoral tendency. The purchase was made, however, and lo, the collection was found richer in Bibles than in any other work!

In 1818 the annual appropriation was raised to \$2,000; in 1824 it was made \$5,000, and this continued about the average annual amount for many years thereafter. About 1850 it was raised to \$7,000, and soon after the beginning of the civil war it was made \$10,000.

In 1825 the library narrowly escaped destruction a second time from fire, though in point of fact the actual damage done was inconsiderable. At the end of fifty years of its existence it contained about fifty thousand volumes; but in 1851 occurred a third fire, which destroyed about thirty-five thousand volumes, or three-fifths of the whole collection. Congress being then in session at once took measures to repair the damage; \$72,500 was appropriated for the work, and \$75,000 for the immediate purchase of books.

The structure this time was made thoroughly fire-proof, and on July 1, 1853, the west hall was occupied. This now forms the main room of the library, and is ninety-one feet long, thirty-four feet wide, and thirty-four feet high. Since then, two additional halls of about equal dimen-

sions have been added, the whole being fire-proof throughout, and the total cost of erection for all three amounting to \$280,000.

The law library was established during President Jackson's time, and the two thousand law books then in the collection were set aside as a nucleus for this department. In the quality of its material it soon outstripped the original collection, and now it is said to be the most complete law library in the world. It contains the statutes of all civilized nations, together with full sets of American, English, Irish, and Scotch reports.

But the true era of the library's growth dates from the appointment in 1864 of Mr. A. R. Spofford as librarian. His predecessors had all been appointed for political reasons; he has filled the position for more than a quarter of a century, because of his eminent fitness therefor. He was a born librarian, just as now and then a poet is born. When he assumed charge, the collection numbered some seventy-five thousand or eighty thousand volumes. His first work was to make a new catalogue upon a different plan from the cumbrous and unwieldy one inherited from the Jefferson purchase.

Soon after, in 1866, the library of the Smithsonian Institute was by consent of the regents of that trust and a special act of congress transferred to the collection. It consisted of forty thousand volumes, representing twenty years' accumulation since its establishment, and was particularly rich in works on the natural and exact sciences and in the publications of learned societies in all parts of the world and in nearly all modern languages. This collection has been increased from year to year by deposits from the same source. In 1867 the library was still further enriched by the purchase of the Force collection, containing some sixty thousand books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts. The owner, the late Peter Force of Washington, had been fifty years in gathering it, with a view of drawing therefrom the material for "A Documentary History of the United States." It was especially valuable for its works upon the early history and colonization of our country, and being altogether one of the richest and most unique historic collections ever gathered by the efforts of a private individual. For this purchase congress appropriated the sum of \$100,000. By these accessions the library of congress became at once the most extensive and valuable repository of material for the wants of scholars to be found in the United States.

In 1881 or 1882 was acquired by gift from Dr. Joseph Meredith Toner of Washington what will be known for all time as "The Toner Collection." It numbered some twenty-eight thousand books and eighteen

thousand pamphlets, and is valuable for its medical, scientific, historical, and biographical works. Especially is it distinguished for works upon small-pox, yellow fever, and medical biography.

This was presented to the government upon certain conditions, the chief of which were that the books should be kept separate from others, that they should be treated as rare books, that they should be bound with a distinguishing mark, and that the donor might have the privilege of adding to the gift and of making permanent provision for its increase in the future.

Aside from these particular facts of accretion, three distinguishing features have marked Mr. Spofford's administration of this great trust: First, the collection and filing of public journals, especially of American newspapers. Little attention had been paid to this feature before his incumbency; but now the library contains some sixteen thousand bound volumes of these, and they are being received and filed at the rate of at least one hundred newspapers per day. No argument is needed to show the value these journals will possess for future generations of students and statesmen, or how that value will increase with age. Second, in the particular attention he has devoted to rendering the library complete in jurisprudence, history, and in everything that may be called Americana. In this feature especially will future generations note the footprints of Mr. Spofford's genius. Third, in the growth of the collection under the workings of the copyright law. Previous to 1870 a work might be copyrighted, by compliance with certain formula, in any district court of the United States. In that year, however, all this business was by act of congress transferred to the congressional library.

Under the provisions of this law, two copies of every book or other article that may be copyrighted must be filed with the librarian, and these copies must be of the best edition issued of the given work.

During the year 1887 fifty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-four articles came into the library under the workings of this law. They were under the head of books, periodicals, dramatic compositions, musical compositions, photographs, engravings and chromos, maps and charts, designs and drawings, prints and paintings. This law operates as a veritable drag-net in the field of American letters. It brings in everything—good, bad, and indifferent. A given book may be utterly worthless; it may be the rankest plagiarism; it may be vicious; it may be of such character that Uncle Sam will refuse to carry it in his mails—and yet he will give its author the benefit of copyright.

The librarian has neither the time nor the authority to pass upon the

morality or the originality of the works presented. In this behalf his functions are purely clerical. All such questions are relegated to the courts. While the operations of this law may bring to the library many works of little individual intrinsic worth, yet collectively the result will be of infinite value, in that for all time it will afford a perfect exhibit—a reflex of the growth and progress of American thought. "As a single example of this," says Mr. Spofford, "consider how great a benefit it must be for those who are interested in the profession of education to be secure of finding in a national library a complete series of school-books, produced in all parts of the United States for the period of half a century. What seems trash to us to-day may come to-morrow to have a wholly unsuspected value, while that which is worthless to one reader may contribute a very solid satisfaction to another. No one who has sought in vain for a coveted volume, which has become almost lost to the world from the small number of copies printed and the swift destruction through the accidents of time, can fail to appreciate the value of a collection thus truly complete and national."

The magnificent new library building will come none too soon. The present quarters have been crowded for years. Now they are overflowing—books, books everywhere. They fill every inch of shelving; they lie in heaps in the alcoves, upon the floors, in the passages—everywhere.

Fifty years from now, when we shall have the greatest and most unique collection of books in the world, what will be thought of the statesmanship that, in order to save the expense of building, proposed to give away the treasures gathered at so much care and expense?

Milton M. Adkins.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ST. JOHN DE CRÈVECŒUR

FIRST FRENCH CONSUL TO NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The one of whom we write was not an American, and yet few Americans have felt greater enthusiasm for their native land—for its climate, its people, and its institutions—than did St. John de Crèvecoeur, who was the first French consul in New York after the Revolution. Michael William John de Crèvecoeur, who has chosen to make himself known to us as St. John de Crèvecoeur, was born at Caen, in Normandy, January 31, 1735. His father was John de Crèvecoeur, Esq., and his mother was the noble lady Mary Ann Theresa Blouet. He came into the world amid calm, patriarchal surroundings, in a society which cared not for changes and adventures, and his family home had been in the same spot for more than one hundred years. Occasionally his father would make a short visit to Paris, where he formed acquaintances at court, who later on were useful to his son. But the elder De Crèvecoeur was happier in his vineyard, in the company of his children and of his wife, who was a woman gifted with rare good sense and better educated than most ladies of her day.

At an early age young De Crèvecoeur was placed in school with the Jesuits, in Caen, and it was through his dormitory window that the little fellow observed for the first time the north star, which so often in after years guided him in his adventurous excursions in the new world. He soon developed a liking for mathematics, and took great pleasure in wandering through the ancient God's acre and making out the moss-covered epitaphs. When he had nearly finished his studies at the Jesuit college, he visited an aunt who lived at Salisbury, England, staying with her more than a month, and it was after this visit that he determined to go to Canada. There is a tradition in his family which says he began his long journey to the west toward the end of the year 1755, and that he touched at Lisbon, where he strolled through the ruins of the city which had so lately been destroyed by an earthquake. He landed in Canada in his twentieth year, but we do not know in what capacity, whether he was a gentleman of leisure or a government official. We know, however, that his aptitude for mathematics soon gave him plenty of topographical work; and this was quite to his taste, for it led him to make expeditions into the interior of the colony, and from some remarks in his *Letters of an Agriculturist*—

a book which brought him not a little fame—we gather that in the longest of these expeditions he crossed the whole length of lake Ontario and lake Erie, and landed at Detroit, whence, descending the Miami river, he reached the grand portage of the Wabash ; and the map which he drew shows that before going back to Canada he must have visited the headwaters of the Hudson as well as lake Champlain.

During what is known as the French and Indian war we find De Crèveœur employed as an officer of engineers, and in 1757 he was with Montcalm in the attack on Fort George. But the handful of brave men who were fighting for France in North America received scant attention from the mother country. France was too occupied with the seven years' war in Europe to care for distant Canada ; and when in 1760 the remnant of the French army returned home, the name of De Crèveœur disappears as a soldier, nor do we know why he quit the service. Perhaps the new world had too many charms for him ; and as he spoke English fairly well, which might enable him to conceal his nationality, and calling himself now for the first time St. John de Crèveœur, a more English-sounding name, he boldly crossed over into the colony of New York. He was young, robust, inured to woodcraft, and did not doubt but he could earn a living as a surveyor. While De Crèveœur was passionately fond of penetrating wild and unexplored regions, he at the same time yearned for civilization and home life. There seemed to be two distinct beings in him ; one would have made him lead the life of a savage, the other impelled him to settle in a fixed abode. Two years after he left Canada he was in Pennsylvania, enchanted with a small town called Shippenburg. In one of his letters he writes : "I have known this town in its first infancy ; I have seen the surrounding forests change to blooming meadows. Never shall I think of this spot without feelings of the deepest gratitude toward the respectable founders of this little settlement." And the energetic and hospitable people who entertained him at Shippenburg were the forefathers of the Shippens—a well-known and honorable family of Philadelphia.

In 1764 De Crèveœur bought a tract of land in the province of New York, two thousand acres of which, being a marsh, he had to drain. And now after this is prepared for cultivation, when he has built himself a log house, we might expect him to be at rest and abide where he is. But no, off he wanders into the region which became in after years the state of Vermont ; and embarking in a canoe with two Indians, he paddled down the St. Lawrence, and was wrecked after having safely passed through the rapids. Winter was near. Without means to light a fire—for there were

no matches in those days—without an ax to build a cabin, obliged to eat raw fish, the miserable party resolved to hasten southward. On the third day of their painful march they saw smoke. It was from a village of Christian Mohawks. The Indians, touched by their wretchedness, fed and clothed them, and the chief persuaded De Crèvecoeur to stay with him through the long winter. It was well he did, for De Crèvecoeur might not have lived to get back to his farm. And as he never went anywhere without his flute, he often entertained his swarthy host with music.

One day, hearing that two of the Mohawks who were jealous of each other were about to fight a mortal combat, he resolved to test the power of harmonious sounds upon them. Accordingly he hid himself behind an oak tree, and just as their tomahawks were uplifted to strike, he began to play a sweet melody. At once their weapons dropped. The savages were dumfounded. They listened in awe, then shook hands; and De Crèvecoeur attributed this happy ending of the duel to the charm of his flute. But he innocently adds, that at the very same moment two angry squaws appeared on the scene, each flourishing a stick, so that we are left in doubt whether it was the flute or the squaws who made everything end so well.

When spring returned De Crèvecoeur journeyed back to his clearing. But he found himself unable to settle down to the plow. He had rich land and a roof to shelter him; yet he wanted something more than acres and a roof, and this something was a wife. Where was he to find one? Young women were not many in the backwoods. So determined, however, was he to secure a wife, that he actually crossed the ocean in his eager search for one. He was not able, however, to find a partner in Normandy. He does not tell us why. Perhaps the long sea voyage—ten times longer than than now—made the pretty girls shake their heads. So westward De Crèvecoeur sailed again alone; and finally, in 1769, in his thirty-fourth year, his perseverance was rewarded in the person of Miss Mehitable Tippet, who was a native of Yonkers. But her home at the time he wooed and won her was in Dutchess county, New York. Being fond of change De Crèvecoeur settled on a new piece of land near Cornwall, in Orange county, and named his new farm Pine Hill. In 1770 he cut down the first tree on it. In the log cabin was born, December 14, 1770, his eldest child, whom he resolved to name "America Frances," a good patriotic name, and he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Tétard to come and baptize young "America Frances." But the clergyman answered from the town of Westchester, on January 6, 1771, as follows: "I regret to say the season is too severe, the roads impracticable on account of the snow, and

the rivers too dangerous to cross, for me to undertake so long a journey. All I can do is to promise you to fulfill this office as soon as the season will permit." But for some reason—perhaps the parents felt hurt by his answer—the child was not baptized till December, 1776, the blessed year of our independence. And as by this time "America Frances" had two little brothers, the reverend gentleman was able to make his visit the occasion for three baptisms.

Having become the father of a family De Crèvecœur devoted himself with greater zeal to the labors of a colonist. He farmed his land, surveyed land for others, and wrote a book. He soon abandoned his log house for a more pretentious dwelling. The new abode had one story, a portico, and five front windows. On the left was a garden lined with sassafras trees, on the right stood a barn and ten negro cabins, and the whole was surrounded by a palisade. He tells us that cider was the universal beverage, ginger the only medicine, and that the beds of the poorest were made of the feathers of wild pigeons.

The farmers consumed in winter-time half the fruits of the summer, and they were consequently all happy and fat. Perhaps the most interesting part of his book, *Letters of an Agriculturist*, is where he describes Nantucket, which island he visited three years after his marriage. Nantucket, he says, was settled by twenty-seven Quakers, or Friends as they are better called, who had obtained from the crown a concession of the island. These good people, little dreaming of the riches they were to derive from the sea, turned their attention at first to agriculture. But they found the soil so sandy that it was not worth dividing. Therefore, after each one had taken a lot styled a "homestead lot," whereon he built a house (and the twenty-seven houses were the beginning of the town of Sherburn), it was agreed to enjoy the rest of the island in common. Then, believing that the scanty grass could be made better by having sheep on it, they decided that each person might introduce five hundred and sixty sheep, by which agreement the common herd would number fifteen thousand one hundred and twenty sheep. Hence the land was cut up into as many parts as there were sheep. It was, moreover, agreed that after the pasturage had been improved by these sheep, then one cow might represent four sheep, and two cows represent one horse. It was also agreed that later they would seek the most equitable mode of determining the exact quantity of land which would be equivalent to the pasturing of one sheep. This plan was faithfully carried out, and, as a result, what became known as "pasture titles" were given to the inhabitants. At the time De Crèvecœur visited Nantucket the quiet, serene-looking Friends had changed into daring fisher-

men. He says, "I observe with pleasure that no political convulsion has ever tarnished the glory of this settlement. Yet its founders had never heard speak either of Lycurgus or of Solon. The first thing which struck me on landing was the smell of whale-oil, an inevitable smell, which one soon gets accustomed to, and which the people of Sherburn, clean as they are, cannot prevent, for this oil is their principal harvest." The Friends of Nantucket, he adds, were always kind to the Indians whom they found there, and all dwelt in harmony together. But what pleased him most on the island was to find only one lawyer, and this lawyer had wisely made sure of his bread and butter by marrying the daughter of a whaleman.

The character of the Friends pleased him exceedingly: "They are grave without being sad, reserved without coldness, and accomplishing much business without noise or precipitation. The different degrees of prosperity have not produced among them arrogance and pride on the one part, nor degradation and servility on the other." Idleness, he tells us, was looked on as a great fault: "And when one of these Friends has nothing else to do he will draw from his pocket a piece of cedar-wood and a knife, and even while conversing and saying, 'Thee knows, thee knows,' will begin to make a bung for an oil-barrel."

So wedded were they to their habits of simplicity that once when a Friend brought over from the mainland a one-horse chaise—which was only to be used by his wife when she paid visits to her neighbors—it caused great scandal, and ended by the chaise being sent back to the mainland. It was only on First day—Sunday—that they put off their home-spun garments and wore cloth made in England. But the rich and those of moderate means dressed alike. From Nantucket De Crèvecoeur passed over to Newport, of which he says: "It is the healthiest country I know of. Hence Newport has become the rendezvous of all the sickly Englishmen, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen of the West Indies."

He visited Connecticut where, strange to relate, he found a great contempt for money, so great that he met a citizen of Northampton (Massachusetts) who, having made a fortune, was in consequence unable to be elected to the lowest office, his fellow-citizens preferring a man like themselves, neither rich nor poor. He also relates how one day a tavern-keeper of New Haven bade an English sailor who had come in for refreshment to stop swearing. "God's law as well as the state's law forbids profanity," said the tavern-keeper. And the sailor continuing to swear, the other had him put in jail. Here it may be explained that in those primitive days tavern-keepers were often justices of the peace, in order that profanity and overdrinking might more easily be put down.

De Crèvecoeur was nowhere received with more hospitality than in the city of New York. He says of New York: "The streets are often cleaned and on dark nights they are lighted. It grows rapidly too, and has now twenty-eight thousand inhabitants, and an old woman told me she had once been whipped for stealing apples from an orchard which stood where the town hall now stands." Then he adds, "The people of New York expect shortly to have an abundant supply of water for use in the dwellings and to freshen the streets, and they are actually building a fire-engine. All the inhabitants are divided into companies, and when a fire breaks out they must hasten to it with their buckets with the greatest speed." De Crèvecoeur felt sure that the city would one day become a great metropolis: "It may be possible," he says, "at some future time to unite the source of the Mohawk river with the waters of Wood creek, which empties into lake Ontario at Oswego. Thus the productions of this immense lake and the harvests of all the colonies which will be planted on its shores, will be carried to Albany and from thence to the city of New York, and this will give New York a prosperity and a supremacy over all the other cities of the continent, which nothing will take away from her. It may require only a century of independence to accomplish this great work."

But pleased as he was with what he saw in his travels through New York and Pennsylvania, De Crèvecoeur recognized in New England the heart and soul of the new nation that was being formed. And nothing interested him more than the spectacle of Europeans turning into a new English-speaking race, and becoming Americans. Occasionally he is sad and speaks of the loss of Canada to France with tender regret. This loss was mainly due, in his opinion, to the efforts of her kings to govern the far-off colony in all matters, no self-government being allowed. Yet De Crèvecoeur believed that the Canadian emigrants were well fitted to get on by themselves. They were great explorers. He had met some who had penetrated into the remote northwest and not returned home for three whole years. He found them, however, wanting in money-making enterprise. They were content to do as their fathers had done. Nor did they care much for schools. De Crèvecoeur says, they had been told in France that winter wheat would be smothered by the deep snow of Canada; therefore the credulous Canadians sowed no winter wheat. Apple-trees, they had been told, would not grow in such a climate; therefore no apple-trees were planted. And if they got on better with the Indians than did their Anglo-Saxon neighbors, he attributed it to the fact that they were in many things a good deal like the Indians.

When De Crèvecoeur returned home from his tour through the different

provinces, he saw that grave events were approaching. Like many other moderate spirits, however, he believed that revolution might be averted. As the breach grew wider he did not hesitate how to act. He was an American above all things: Finally war broke out, and his house and barn were destroyed by Indians in the service of England, and he and his family watched the flames from a hiding-place in the woods. They owed their lives to a royalist whose own life De Crèvecoeur had saved a short time before. In 1779 business matters called De Crèvecoeur to France. His mother had been dead some years, his father was nearly eighty, and the loss of his farm induced him for the sake of his children to renew the too long neglected ties with his family across the sea. Accordingly, armed with proper papers from General Washington as well as from Sir Henry Clinton, he passed through the lines to New York, taking with him only Ally his eldest boy. In New York he hoped to repose a little and visit some old acquaintances. But being accused anonymously of having drawn a map of the harbor for Washington, he was thrown into prison. Meanwhile his little son fell ill at the house of a kind gentleman on Long Island, and this increased his distress. The prison was an old sugar-house, where the food of the prisoners was often devoured by rats. Here De Crèvecoeur found languishing the Rev. John Mather, pastor of the church at Greenwich, Connecticut. Mather had been arrested as a rebel because every sabbath he used to go to meeting carrying a musket. For this one of his parishioners had denounced him, saying that "his pulpit was an ecclesiastical drum with which he beat up recruits for General Washington." The parishioner did not know that the custom of carrying muskets to meeting was an old one handed down from the times when the Pequots occasionally put a stop to the prayers and the preaching.

At last William Seton, a merchant of New York, to whom he dedicated *Letters of an Agriculturist*, obtained a hearing for poor De Crèvecoeur, and Sir Henry Clinton gave him his liberty, Mr. Seton going on one of his two bail bonds, five hundred guineas. Being now free and finding his son recovered, De Crèvecoeur took up his abode with a tailor named John Pickering, who, with his worthy Quaker wife, had been forced to leave Albany on account of his royalist opinions. The dwelling was a stable under a grain loft. The good couple gave him the stable, they retreating to the upper floor, which was reached by a ladder. While De Crèvecoeur lived here he earned a little money by helping the English along the wharf at Corlear's Hook. His services were paid for in wood, which he brought to the tailor in lieu of rent. By and by he was given the more congenial task of laying out anew the boundary lines of Trinity Corpora-

tion. He set to work with zeal, but unhappily he made use of white handkerchiefs to mark his alignments, and one day a couple of tipsy sailors mistook them for French flags, and fell on him and beat him. On the 1st of September, 1780, De Crèvecoeur and his son managed to sail for Europe in one of a convoy of eighty vessels, and were wrecked on the coast of Ireland.

Little is known of De Crèvecoeur's stay in the British isles. He was in London in 1781, and on the 2d of August of that year he reached his paternal home in Normandy, after an absence of twenty-seven years. He found only his aged father to welcome him, and the son had almost forgotten his native tongue. De Crèvecoeur soon visited Paris under the escort of Etienne François Turgot, eldest brother of the great Turgot. By him he was introduced to the naturalist Buffon, who was much interested to hear about America. He was also presented to Madame d'Houdetot, wife of Count d'Houdetot; and his meeting this lady was like a new birth to De Crèvecoeur. Her husband's family and his own had long been intimate, and she determined to befriend him. De Crèvecoeur was bashful at first, and begged in barbarous French to be allowed not to enter society. His imploring, ungrammatical letter made the countess all the more desirous to have in her salon a being so original, who had traveled so much, and who was already known as the "wild American." In a little while Madame d'Houdetot made him accompany her everywhere; and at one place—Le Val, near Saint Germain—De Crèvecoeur made use of Franklin's discovery and put up a lightning-rod. In the courtyard of the château he erected an unsightly pole, eighty-nine feet high, formed of two poplar trees spliced together. The pole was crowned by a metal rod which was connected with the earth by a chain, while a gaping crowd looked on at the strange doings of the "wild American," who declared that the lightning would not hurt the château so long as this pole was allowed to stand. Madame d'Houdetot also made De Crèvecoeur sit beside her at all her banquets, to the great delight of her husband, who once said to him on the eve of a dinner party: "Ah, my friend! don't imagine that to-morrow you will give us the slip. You must take my place at table—do you hear? This superabundance of wit at my wife's dinners bores me to death. I'll go and dine in the Rue de l'Université with some boon companions, who, like myself, are fond of a jolly time. Ah, my friend! beware of becoming a learned man and a wit. God knows, we have too many already."

But this life, much as De Crèvecoeur grew to like it, did not make him forget America. It was now two years since he had sailed from New York,

and he had had no tidings of his wife. Therefore it was with impatience that he waited for the signing of the treaty of peace. It was signed at last. Yet it brought unlooked-for results for himself. While the English and American commissioners were arranging the details at Versailles, the countess d'Houdetot had kept constantly flitting between this place and Paris; and one day, bidding De Crèvecoeur hasten to her presence, she informed him that the minister of marine wanted to see him, and that he must be prepared to give full information about the geography, population, industry, and government of the American states. "Are you ready to do this?" she asked. "Angel of goodness," exclaimed De Crèvecoeur, "I am ready." Accordingly he presented himself to this high official, and so well did he answer all questions, that he was offered any consulship he might wish for in America. De Crèvecoeur chose that of New York, and his commission as consul was signed June 22, 1783. Before leaving France he put his son in his aged father's care; then, having been made a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, he sailed for New York on the *Courrier de l'Europe*—the first of a line of packets established by the French government between France and America. He arrived on the 19th of November, after a passage of fifty-four days, and just as the last British soldiers were evacuating the city. De Crèvecoeur's first thought was to find his family. Alas! his wife was dead, and the two children whom he had left with her had been carried off by a stranger, he knew not whither. Happily William Seton, who had lost his fortune by the war, again came to his aid. He took him home, helped him search for his children, and after seventeen days of anguish De Crèvecoeur learned they were in Boston, tenderly cared for by Mr. George Fellows, father of Lieutenant Fellows of the American navy.

De Crèvecoeur sent his boy Louis to join Ally in France, but kept with him his daughter Fanny, then thirteen years old. Although naturally modest, De Crèvecoeur took a pardonable pride in being the first consul of France in New York. He found the country still much excited. The commercial marine of the United States was in a precarious condition. How would it thrive under the new flag? The people, however, were full of hope, for they had independence. Home industries were beginning to revive, and De Crèvecoeur tells us that the American mechanics were the most ingenious in the world.

Before long the friendship between France and America cooled somewhat. The truth is, the mere fact of separation had not broken the many natural ties which linked the American to the English people. English merchants offered the largest credits, although the duties imposed

on American goods were heavy. So evident was the good feeling between the mother country and the United States, that a French writer declared in 1788 that England now enjoyed all the advantages without having to fulfill the duties of a mother country. Seemingly no right had been lost except the right of naming the governors. But while the other French consuls wrote home complaints and dispatches full of jealousy toward England, not so De Crèvecoeur, and here he revealed his strong common-sense. He sent to France only practical letters describing American machinery. He likewise sent home models of our machines. Nor did he fear to praise our institutions, for De Crèvecoeur was no blind reactionist. Among the things considered by him most useful to France was American wood, especially live oak, against which French ship-builders were foolishly prejudiced. He strove to open their eyes, and succeeded in getting permission of his government to have a vessel built here of live oak. A shipwright of Boston, named Peck, the best in the country, was chosen to build this vessel, which was launched in 1786, and named the *Maréchal de Costries*. Even her sails were of American manufacture, and as De Crèvecoeur had foreseen, she was much admired by French seamen. He also tried to infuse a more honest spirit among French merchants, some of whom during the Revolution had taken advantage of our straits and flooded our markets with wine not fit to be drunk. He took an active part, too, in drawing up a postal treaty between France and the United States. In fact, it was De Crèvecoeur who first proposed such a treaty.

Religion also engaged his attention, although he had been somewhat lax in his religious duties; and having been requested by the Catholics of the city to assist them in erecting a church, he set to work with enthusiasm to raise a subscription, and even interested the archbishop of Paris in this good work, which was crowned by the dedication of St. Peter's church in Barclay street.

De Crèvecoeur had been consul little more than a year when New Haven, in appreciation of his good-will and his services (he had earnestly called the attention of his government to the rising industries of New England), presented him with the freedom of the city. But, as we have said, he was a modest man, and at once furnished the municipality of New Haven with a list of names of Frenchmen who, he declared, merited this high honor quite as much as himself. Accordingly all his old friends at home were offered the freedom of the city of New Haven; and this raised such an outcry—for it was impossible to include all Frenchmen in the list—that the whole of France became alive to the existence and importance of New Haven! Before long Hartford, not wishing to be outdone, also decreed

him one of her citizens, and then as never before the eyes of all Frenchmen were drawn to the existence of Hartford! To use a not very elegant expression, it proved a good thing all around; so good that a little later Vermont, on the proposition of Ethan Allen, conferred on De Crèvecoeur, as well as on his three children, the title of citizens of Vermont, and even named a town after him—St. Johnsbury—which soon became very flourishing.

In 1785 De Crèvecoeur made a visit to France. His leave of absence was for six months, but it was lengthened to nearly two years. He was warmly received by his government, and his first efforts were to establish a better line of packets between the two countries; at the same time he insisted that Havre, and not L'Orient, should be the port of sailing from France. Needless to say, his old friend the countess d'Houdetot opened her house to him. There De Crèvecoeur met Lafayette, whom he induced to help him introduce American wood into the French naval arsenals. He was almost immediately made a member of "The Royal Society of Agriculture of Paris," and he quickly called the attention of the society to an improved American churn and to our sweet potatoes. He also wrote to all his friends about our locust trees, urging their usefulness; and he planted some locust slips in the park of the duke de la Rochefoucauld. Nay, De Crèvecoeur even suggested a world's exhibition of all useful trees, plants, and machines from other countries, giving a conspicuous place in the exhibition to whatever came from the United States. At length his vacation ended and he returned to New York, having first placed his sons at an excellent school in Paris, where they had as companion a young American, George Washington Greene, a son of General Greene; and the good countess d'Houdetot promised that his boys should find in her a mother, and she kept her promise.

In 1788 De Crèvecoeur wrote to the duke d'Harcourt, governor to the dauphin of France, an interesting communication on the use of steam on boats. He had watched with attention the controversy between James Rumsey and John Fitch as to priority of invention of the steam-boat, and De Crèvecoeur urged the duke d'Harcourt to have Fitch given a small sum of money with which to make a little model of his steamer. He intended to bring this model to France on one of the packets. At about the same time De Crèvecoeur also wrote to Franklin, and Franklin's answer, dated February 17, 1788, is interesting: "Although I have never doubted that steam properly applied would be able to make a boat go against the current of most of our rivers, nevertheless when I considered the first cost of such a machine as a steam vessel, the necessity of always

having a skilled mechanician to manage the boat and to repair it, a man who would demand high wages, and when I considered also the space which the machinery would occupy, I was inclined to fear, I own, that the advantages of the invention were not great enough to bring it into general use; but the opinion of Mr. Rittenhouse which you send me, who is an excellent judge, has given me a more favorable impression.

BENJ. FRANKLIN."

Unhappily the revolution in France was approaching, and this prevented De Crèvecoeur's ardent efforts in behalf of Fitch from bearing fruit. Had the political sky of France been brighter it is not improbable that the first steamboat might have paddled up the Seine instead of up the Hudson. On 13th April, 1790, De Crèvecoeur's daughter was married in St. Peter's church, New York, to Louis William Otto, secretary of the French Legation. She was his second wife, his first having been Miss Livingston, daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston and Mary Alexander. At the wedding in old St. Peter's were present Thomas Jefferson, Richard Morris, and many other distinguished persons.

A few weeks later De Crèvecoeur sailed for France on the packet-ship *Washington*. He was destined never to see America again. The terrible upheaval in his native land brought about sad changes. Many of his friends were beheaded. He became very poor, but he lived on and on to a good old age, and died November 12, 1813, surrounded by his children and grandchildren. Let us not forget him. When ours was a young and weak and struggling nation, it had no better friend than St. John De Crèvecoeur.

William Seton

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW YORK'S GREAT LAND-OWNER, GEORGE CLARKE

George Clarke, whose death at Richfield Springs has recently attracted wide attention, was the lineal descendant of a prominent character for forty years in New York colonial history. It was in 1703 that George Clarke was appointed secretary of the province, and subsequently served for a long series of years as one of the royal counselors, and then as lieutenant-governor and acting governor of New York. His wife was Anne Hyde, a cousin of Queen Anne, and at the time they came to New York Lord Cornbury (Edward Hyde) was the governor. Mrs. Clarke was one of the most accomplished and charming of women. She was regarded with such enthusiastic affection by the people, that when she died, in 1740, the whole city was thrown into the deepest affliction. Her generosity to the poor had given her the title of "Lady Bountiful," and on the day of her funeral the corporation ordered "that, as it was a pleasure to her in life to feed the hungry, a loaf of bread should be given to every poor person who would receive it." Her great-great-grandson, George Clarke, the subject of this sketch, was born at Hyde Hall, at the head of Otsego lake, in Springfield township, New York, in June, 1822. Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke had, by grant of the crown, come into possession of some sixty thousand acres of land in the counties of Otsego, Montgomery, Oneida, and Dutchess, and the larger share of this property descended to George Clarke of Hyde Hall. The following biographical sketch appeared in the *Utica Press* of a recent date:

"George Clarke was a handsome, intellectual-looking man, with a decided stamp of the old Puritan self-denying hardness plainly marked on his face. It is said he would allow none of his family, except his son, near him in his last sickness. His face showed that characteristic of sternness we call a 'good hater.' If the circumstances had come to him, Clarke was a man who could have left the tracks of bloody feet upon the frozen Delaware without a murmur, or have watched a Jesuit burn without a pang. As it was, he sacrificed talents, ambition, property, and perhaps even life in an obstinate and determined struggle for one end—to own land. He worked for that with the tireless and unswerving energy of a Napoleon. If he could have written his own biography, Clarke would have simply said: 'The great land-owner of the state of New York is dead.'

It was the ruling passion of his life to be known as 'the great land-

owner of the state of New York,' and he was given to speaking of himself in this impersonal way. Some years ago, in his efforts to keep all the land he had and to buy more, he became rather deeply in debt. As he used every cent that came in beyond his living to buy more land and to litigate against his creditors, this matter rapidly became serious. For many years he could have sold part of his possessions and been freed from debt and enormously rich ; but he bought rather than sold, and spent fortunes in paying interest and contesting lawsuits. In 1882, when hops rose to the marvelous price of a dollar per pound, Clarke was said to have had three hundred thousand pounds, but, with his usual idiosyncrasy, he was a purchaser to the last, and what would have helped him out of his financial troubles became almost worthless. In 1885 his creditors began to close in on him, and soon forced him to an assignment, in spite of his most tireless efforts to save his beloved land. There was something pathetic in the sight of the already broken-down old gentleman, traveling from one creditor to another, arguing, threatening, and beseeching by turns in an almost superhuman effort to preserve the altar and shrine of his life from the hands of its desecrators.

George Clarke was educated at Flushing, Long Island. He was always scholarly in his address, courteous in his manner, and gentlemanly in his bearing. He was a charming talker and very agreeable to meet. Even in his business matters he would amuse his creditors by introducing some curt epigram, such as, 'Your necessity does not aid my inability, and my inability does not aid your necessity.' His marriage was clouded with romance, and few people of the present day know the actual facts. It seems at least to be true that his wife had little love for him before their marriage. She was Maria Gregory of New Jersey, and Dame Rumor reports her as very handsome and very much in love with somebody other than George Clarke. It is even said that she once started for the church with her own true love, but was intercepted by her parents and eventually persuaded or compelled to marry Clarke. Whatever may have been the truth of these stories, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke lived together for several years, had five children, and then separated. She is at present in England, where three of their daughters, Maud, Maria, and Blanche, are living with their husbands. One child died, and the fifth, George Hyde Clarke, is married and lives at the family homestead, Hyde Hall.

George Clarke's old faded overcoat and his ragged clothes were as well known in this country as the man himself. In outward dress he had a striking resemblance to the captain of a band of beggars ; but those who attributed this to petty parsimony were very much mistaken, and probably

did not know that under his shabby clothes he wore the finest of silk under-clothing, and that he was in the habit of paying five dollars each for the stitching of his shirts. The story about his son being fooled by his selling a nice suit of clothes the son had tricked him into buying is probably groundless, as Clarke did not wear old clothes because he was too stingy to buy new ones, but rather because he was fond of attracting comment by the rusty, ragged garments. He was extremely proud of his family, his possessions, and himself, and it doubtless tickled his pride to have a person point out the 'cove in old clothes' as the great and rich landlord, George Clarke. The paradox of a millionaire in rags probably gratified his extremely whimsical mind, just as it gratified him to waste his splendid brain power in foolish litigation, and his magnificent fortune on a monomania for land.

The Hyde family (from which he descended) was affluent and prominent, tracing the name back to Walter de Hyde, who fought in the bloody battle of Hastings, in 1066 A.D., when King Harold was killed and William of Normandy became the conqueror of England and its king. The first George Clarke (who came to this country) was a protégé of Sir Robert Walpole, and probably through the influence of Lord Cornbury was appointed in 1703 secretary of the colony of New York. He continued as such until 1736. After that time, until 1743, he was lieutenant-governor and acting governor of New York. His son George became secretary of the colony in his father's place in 1738, and continued until 1777 as such. George Clarke the first died in England in 1759, the owner of a large acreage of land. He was reputed to be worth \$500,000, or £100,000. At that time he had two sons, Edward and George, and owned 60,000 acres of fertile land (in this country), as follows: One-ninth interest in 40,000 of Nine Partners' patent, situated in Dutchess county; one-half of Corry patent of 25,000 acres, in Schoharie and Montgomery counties; one-half of Oothoudt's patent of 13,000 acres in Otsego county; one-third of four tracts in Otsego and Delaware counties; one-half of Cherry Valley patent of 7,000 acres; one-quarter of a patent in Greene county, near the present village of Catskill, besides lands in Washington county and Oriskany patent.

In his will he devised to his son, George Clarke second, the Oriskany patent and other lands. Major Edward Clarke, the other son, became possessor of the old Cheshire homestead (in England), but dying soon, it fell to his son, George Hyde Clarke. The second George Clarke never married, but died suddenly in England in 1777. He devised his lands to two sons of George Hyde Clarke, his nephew, son of his brother Edward. Their names were Edward Clarke and George Clarke. One of these (George Clarke) was the father of the deceased. In 1791 he

secured a conveyance of his brother's (Edward Clarke) interest in the Oriskany patent. He was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Gen. Rochfort of the British army, by whom he had five children. One, Edward Hyde Clarke, died without issue; another, George Hyde Clarke, was lost at sea about 1821; still another, and a daughter, Elizabeth, died a few years ago in England; one of the sons, George Rochfort Clarke, still lives in England, although over eighty years of age. None of these were married. His second wife was Mrs. Annie Low Cary Cooper, relict of Richard Fenimore Cooper, son of Judge Cooper of Otsego county, and eldest brother of James Fenimore Cooper, the celebrated novelist. She was a daughter of Colonel Richard Cary, who was on General George Washington's staff. By her the father of George Clarke of our sketch had five children—George Clarke, who died in infancy; Georgianna Clarke, who died aged seven years; Arthur Clarke, who died an infant; Annie Clarke, who married Duncan C. Pell of New York, and now—a widow—resides at Newport, Rhode Island; and George Clarke, the deceased, who was the third child of this group. The father, George Clarke, died in Springfield, Otsego county, in 1835. His widow died in 1850 in the same township. All the vast landed estates of the family, at the death of his father in 1835, fell to the late George Clarke. He did not prosper in the same way as his ancestors. The constitutional provisions prohibiting the renting of agricultural lands more than twelve years, foolish purchases of life leases of his properties, and other difficulties placed him in great debt. Furthermore, he had a mania for buying real estate, and oftentimes when bonds and mortgages were given by him to cover the cost of purchase. The tenure of his tenants being short, they became interested in sacrificing the fences, buildings, and woodlands to their own uses and benefits. The result of all was a collapse in 1887, on April 14, when he made a general assignment to the Hon. George Barnard of Rome for the benefit of his creditors. The estate is still unsettled.

The deceased was constantly in litigation. He did not himself know how much land he owned, so vast was the territory and so diversely situated. Certainly it was over fifty thousand acres. He was unwilling to sell, but ever ready to buy and increase the domain, which he finally lost."

MINOR TOPICS

AN INTERESTING HISTORIC CHARACTER

MRS. AMASA J. PARKER, 1814-1889

At the time of Mrs. Amasa J. Parker's birth this country was engaged in the second war with Great Britain. William Eustis, who married her aunt, Caroline Langdon, was secretary of war. Afterwards he served for eight years as United States minister to The Hague and Brussels. On his return to this country he was elected governor of Massachusetts and died while in office. Another uncle, Walter Langdon, married Dorothea Astor, daughter of John Jacob Astor, and that branch of the family has inherited wealth. Mrs. Parker's mother was Catharine Whipple Langdon, the youngest of the children of Woodbury Langdon, who after the Revolution served his state in many important directions. He was sent to the continental congress of 1779, was many years a judge of the supreme court, and in 1782 and from 1786 to 1790 was state senator and president of the state senate. He was one of the handsomest men of his day as well as notable for ability, position, and wealth. His brother, Governor John Langdon, was president of the senate of the United States just prior to Washington's inauguration in 1789. Mrs. Parker's father was Edmund Roberts, whose life was full of interest as the first American diplomatist in Asia, and in many ways romantic with adventure. When at home he was surrounded by a charming and clever set of men, who made Portsmouth well known for many a day, among whom were Rev. Dr. Burroughs, Dr. Buckminster, Daniel Webster, and Jeremiah Mason, in their early professional career, also army and navy officers, and the large and brilliant family connection of Mrs. Roberts, including not only the Langdons but the Sherburnes, Wentworths (Henry Sherburne, Mrs. Roberts's great-great-grandfather, married the sister of Sir John Wentworth), Whipples, Warners, and Sullivans. Governor James Sullivan of Massachusetts married Martha Langdon. Mr. Roberts was an extensive ship-owner, and in course of events was appointed the special diplomatic envoy of the United States to make treaties with Muscat, Siam, and Cochin-China. In 1835 he went again to the eastern courts, to exchange ratifications of the treaties that had been effected with Muscat and Siam, and to visit Japan for a like purpose. He died at Macoa, and a monument was erected over his grave by the Americans in China; his unfinished work was consummated many years later by Mathew Perry and Townsend Harris. Of his daughters who survived him, Catharine became the wife of Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody of Harvard, and Harriet Langdon, the subject of this paper, was married in 1834 to Judge

Amasa J. Parker, then a resident of Delhi. In 1845 they removed to Albany, where Judge Parker was appointed circuit judge and vice-chancellor.

Mrs. Parker inherited the best traits of her notable ancestors and was highly cultivated by reading and study. Her manners were captivating, and the beauty and amiability of her character endeared her to hosts of admiring friends. During the last forty years of her life Mrs. Parker has been more prominent in social matters and in entertaining strangers than any other lady in Albany. One of the great features of her hospitality was her regular Sunday evening teas, at which she would entertain on each occasion about a dozen special guests. These teas were given by her on forty or forty-five Sundays each year, and it can thus be seen that during the later years of her life she acted as hostess to many thousand people. But not alone was she distinguished for her sweet hospitality : she possessed strong religious convictions and high ideals, and was a woman of singular force, with all the many graces and charms that are embodied in a strong, refined character. She was a lady, also, of extraordinary unselfishness and was always solicitous for the comfort and welfare of others. No doubt her remarkable mental and physical energy went far towards prolonging her life beyond the allotted years of the human family. Of her eight children four are now living—Mrs. John V. L. Pruyn, General Amasa Parker, Jr., who is in command of the third New York brigade which made such a fine showing in the metropolis, April 30, 1889, Mrs. Erastus Corning, and Mrs. Selden E. Marvin. Fifteen grandchildren also survive Mrs. Parker. Their golden wedding was celebrated by Judge and Mrs. Parker in 1884, at the summer home of Mrs. Pruyn, "The Cliffs," Newport.

WASHINGTON'S RULES OF CIVILITY AND DECENT BEHAVIOUR

Editor of Magazine of American History :

In the interest of accurate historical statements the following observations are made. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge in his recent work on George Washington adopts without verification a statement which originally appeared in the *New York Tribune* in 1866, to the effect that the "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour" found in manuscript among the early writings of Washington were printed in the thirteenth edition of W. Mather's *Young Man's Companion*.

This is a well-known English publication and has gone through many editions, and once found a considerable sale in the American colonies ; and while I have not been able to find a copy of this particular edition of Mather's books, I have seen and examined earlier and also later editions, but none of them contain rules of civility or etiquette comparable to those attributed to Washington. I was

familiar with the *Tribune's* article as printed in the *Historical Magazine*, but my investigations of the question of authorship made me dubious as to the value of this anonymous statement.

As I have published a literal and complete copy of these "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation," from the original manuscript, and at the time earnestly endeavored to solve the question of their authorship, I would call Mr. Lodge's attention to my introduction to that work.

In view of the interest which the publication referred to has attracted to this subject, I feel justified in emphasizing more fully than I did in the introduction referred to my efforts made to discover the author or source of these maxims of good behavior usually referred to as "Washington's rules of civility."

These rules exist in the hand-writing of George Washington when a boy of about thirteen years of age, and to the end of discovering whether he had copied them as a study or exercise from some published works, search was made through all the French and English publications upon this subject printed before 1750 contained in the library of congress. More than one hundred works on etiquette and kindred subjects were consulted, but in no one could I find rules either identical with or similar in form or arrangement to those by Washington.

Etiquette in all the early works on the subject is treated of by chapters, as "on etiquette at court," "at a ball," "in the parlor," "at a dinner," etc. But in no work before or since Washington's day do I find the whole subject-matter of civility and good behavior treated of in a comprehensive series of numbered rules as they are in this paper.

Mr. Spofford, the librarian of congress, to widen my field of inquiry, placed before me catalogues of other libraries and thus enabled me to select titles which encouraged the hope of finding in them the rules sought for. And although searches were made of books in Boston and Philadelphia, the secret was not solved.

That I have been unsuccessful does not, of course, prove that these rules of civility do not exist in print in some undiscovered publication to which Washington might have had access in his youth.

As I have not seen the thirteenth edition of *The Young Man's Companion*, I will not presume to say that the rules in question are not contained in it; but as they do not appear in earlier or later editions, I will exercise caution and withhold my assent to the unsupported newspaper statement until Mr. Lodge or some other careful historian shall vouch that he has seen these rules in print in a work published as early as 1745.

J. M. TONER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE ENLISTMENT OF COLORED SOLDIERS

UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM CAPTAIN P. P. WALTER TO GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

[Contributed by Lieutenant-Colonel A. K. Arnold]

INSPECTOR GENERALS OFFICE
3^r M. District

General John Armstrong } Wednesday August 23rd 1814.
Secretary of War, Washington, }

Sir I have just been informed by my good friend Col. A. Denniston that you have in contemplation to raise a Regiment of Blacks, should this be the case, I solicit permission to tender my services to assist in Recruiting such a Regiment, confident that in Penns^a (the place of my nativity) I should be able in a short period to enlist from 3 to 500 men, any information or recommendations you may require respecting me, shall be furnished from the most respectable Military characters in this and the 4th M. District.

Permit me to refer you to the Secretary of the Navy and Richard Rush Esq. who I believe have some knowledge of me,

I am present detailed by the Comdg^t Gen^l of this district as Acting Inspector General during the Arrest of Col^l N. Gray.

Soliciting your attention to my application

I am With sentiments of the highest respect

Sir Your Mo. Obdt. Serv^t

P. P. Walter Capt: 32nd. I.
Actg. Inspector General 3rd M. District

AN ANTIQUE DOCUMENT

[Contributed by Townsend D. Cock]

Queens By John Jackson, Joseph Sackett, William Bloodgood, Theodorus Van
County : Wyck, Timothy Bagley, William Cornell, Joseph Lockett, Jr. and
George Townsend Esquires, Justices of Queens County.

In Pursuance of An Act of Generall Assembly of this Collonie Entituled An
Act for Levying ten thousand pounds You the Assessors of the Town of Oyster-

bay in Queens County are hereby Ordered & Required Immediately upon your receipt hereof to assess upon the Estates, real & personal of all & every the Inhabitant, Residents, Sojourners & free holders of your Town, the sum of thirty two pounds, fourteen Shillings in Money according to the Value mentioned in an Act of Generall Assembly made in the Seventh Year of the reigne of our Late Soveraigne Queen Anne Entituled An Act for the regulating and preventing the Corruption of the Currant Coin that Sum being the proportion of Your Town of that part of the Said Tax payable November 1717 which Said Sum the Collector of the said Town is hereby ordered and Required to Levy & Collect according to the Directions & powers to him given in An Act of Assembly Entituled An Act for Levyng four Thousand pounds made in the Eight year of our Said Late Soveraigne Reigne and the same to pay to the Treasurer of this Colloney for the time being on or before the Last Day of November Next Ensuing only the Said Collector is first to retain to himself out of y^e said money nine pence in the pound for Collecting of the Same for which this shall be to you & Either of You A Sufficient Warrant.

Given under our hands & Seals, this twenty first Day of May Anno Dom 1717.
To the Assessors & Collector

of the town of Oyster bay
in Queens County these.

Joⁿ Jackson
Tim. Bagley
Joseph Lockett
William bloodgood
Geo Townsend.

EXECUTION OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN TEN EVCK TO HON. HENRY GLEN

[*Among the Glen papers, contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt*]

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

I have read with much pleasure the articles contributed to your Magazine by the Hon. J. O. Dykman. I notice that in the account given by Judge Dykman of the execution of Major André the name of but one of the officers who accompanied him to the gallows is given, and in every sketch of André Captain Hughes is the only one named. The following letter, written by Captain Henry D. Ten Eyck to the Hon. Henry Glen, will be read with great interest by those who have followed André through the last twelve days of his life. This letter is one of several written by Captain Ten Eyck which I find among the "Glen papers."

CATHARINE E. VAN CORTLANDT.

MANOR-HOUSE, CROTON LANDING.

[THE LETTER]

Light Inf^ry CampOct 6th 1780.

Dear Friend

The treachery of Arnold is the prevailing Topic of Conversation with us, & must be a greate subject for correspondents, such a Master-piece of Villany can-not escape my pen with-out giving you a shorte account of—doubtless you have heard many reports concerning that Hellish Plott, and are still at a loss which to believe—but this you may depend on, that Arnold has made his escape to the enemy M^r Smith of Haverstraw, who conducted the British Adj^t Gen^l to Gen^l Arnold is now under the tryal of a Court-Martial & Major Andre, the Adj^t Gen^l of the British army was tryed by a Board of Gen^l officers and sentenced to die, while in that situation several flags passed from his Excellancy to Gen^l Clinton on the subject, but instead of any offers being made for the redemtion of the prisoner nothing but threats were received,—Major Andre though he had justly forfeited his life According to the laws of all Nations, his air, address, and bright accomplishments, drew the attention and pitty from every one who beheld him—and upon my honour to give you an Idea of that gentleman I must call him a perfect Chester-field—last Monday he walked to the place of execution clasping the arm of Capt^r Hun of Congress Reg^t and another officer of the same rank—Dresed in the neatest manner with as Composed a Countanance as if going to a Ball—the rope he himself fixed to his neck and after he had bound his head with a handkercheif & ordered him-self pinioned with his cravat—he justly Dyed—Only beging the spectators to have witness that he dyed like a brave Soldier—It is expected that some of the greate house in Philadelphia will have some secrects Discovered whitch they would keep a secret if possible—Though every thing is silent at present—but his Excellancy when at West-Point wrote to Gen^l Grene that the Discovery of the Plott of Arnold would unravel some thing as high as A, B, and C—Now my dear friend could you amagin that America ever produced so damned a Raskel as that Arnold. I my-self just escaped a duel in defence of his carracter, not long since—We are still encamped two miles from Tappan. and nothing to do in the fighting way, neither do I expect we shall have an opportunity to Disstinguish ourselves, this Campaigne. It is Reported that Congress have resolved to reduce the Reg^t to a certain Number & compell the States to have them compleat with during war, men by the first of Jan^r. Connecticut in the following manner, five Reg^t to Companies to each Reg^t composed of 60 Rank & file each, that is one Grenadier Com^r, two Light Inf^ry Companies & seven Battalien Companies &c &c I have now pen'd down every circumstance of note. Adieu my Friend

H. D. Ten Eyck

P. S. pray make my compliments to you & your Brothers family also M^r McFarlang—just this moment we have received Marching Orders, I suppose we will Cross the North River

NOTES

SETTLEMENT OF WESTERN NEW YORK
—Albany, March 9, 1795: It is estimated that upwards of 1200 sleighs, loaded with women, children and furniture, coming from the east, and *following the course of the sun*, passed through this city within three days, while the late snow lay on the ground; five hundred were counted by a person out of curiosity, from sun to sun, on the 28th ult., besides what passed through in the evening. In short, the current of emigration flows incessantly through this city; and estimating only an equal number to pass the Hudson in various quarters, besides the emigration from the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, we may safely pronounce that the western counties of this state will receive an acquisition of, at least, 20,000 inhabitants during the present winter; and what is remarkable, the states from whence these emigrants principally flow, instead of diminishing, continue to increase in numbers.—*N. Y. Evening Post, March 16, 1795.*

W. K.

A COLLEGE CENTENARY—*An important event in history:* St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, an institution which has among its alumni men of wide fame at the present time, and among its dead such men as William Pinckney, Francis Scott Key, Reverdy Johnson, etc., celebrated during the week from June 21 to 27, 1889, the centenary of the founding of the college. The growing need for a system of higher education in Maryland led the colonists in 1692 to found an academy, known as King William's school, named after its

benefactor, who contributed to its library and equipment. King William's school, after nearly a hundred years of active work, merged into St. John's college and became a part of the newer and more advanced institution. Truly, then, St. John's ranks among the oldest institutions of learning in the new world. The college has taken a vigorous start of late, and much enthusiasm was displayed upon the centenary occasion. The special exercises were held upon the 26th of June, under the auspices of the alumni association, and consisted of an opening address of Francis H. Stockett, Esq., of Annapolis, president of the college board; a historical address by Philip R. Voorhees of New York; a centenary ode by John M. Leavitt, D.D., ex-president of Lehigh and St. John's; an address before the alumni by Rev. Leighton Parks of Boston; and the planting of a memorial tree by Mrs. Jackson, wife of the governor of Maryland. The alumni meeting occurred in the afternoon, and the banquet in the evening.

A FAMILIAR REPTILE—Yesterday some haymakers in a field near Germantown, took up a land tortoise which had every appearance of venerable age; on a closer inspection was read in fair characters, “**GEORGE the 1st, 1717.**—*N. Y. Weekly Chronicle, June 25, 1795.*

W. K.

A NEW SCHOOL HISTORY—It will be welcome news to those appreciating sound education in American history, that the lamented Professor Johnston of

Princeton left in the hands of his publishers, ready for the press, a second *History of the United States*, written on a somewhat similar plan to his already well-known text-book, but suited to a shorter course and perhaps to less mature minds.

INTERESTING CELEBRATION ON HISTORIC GROUND—An interesting local celebration of the national commemoration of Washington's inauguration, April 30, was held in the Maryland state house, Annapolis, under the auspices of the Historical Society of Anne Arundel county. The spot was a well-chosen one, for it was where in council the patriotic Marylanders had protested against British taxation; where, later, Washington re-

turned to congress his military authority; where, later yet, the treaty of Paris was ratified, the last act in the Revolutionary drama. Here assembled a large gathering to celebrate the national birthday.

The exercises consisted of an opening address by the president of the society, Hon. Nicholas Brewer; a paper upon the local significance of the national event, by Daniel R. Randall, Esq., and an address by ex-Representative J. V. L. Findlay upon "Maryland's part in the achievement of independence and a national existence." A chorus of sixty voices and orchestra contributed largely to the pleasure of the occasion, by rendering well our national airs, and especially Maryland's contribution to the same, *The Star Spangled Banner*.

QUERIES

HENRY LAURENS' LETTER—On page 572 of Richard Frothingham's *The Rise of the Republic of the United States* is this extract from a letter written November 20, 1778, by Henry Laurens, the president of congress, to General Washington: "Where is virtue, where is patriotism now, when almost every man has turned his thoughts and attention to gain and pleasure, practicing every artifice of Change-alley or Jonathan's?" Where can the full letter be found?

L.
BOSTON, MASS.

JEFFERSON PAPERS—Who has the custody of the Jefferson papers? *i. e.*,

whom shall I address to obtain a copy of a certain letter written to Jefferson?

C. W. L.

BOSTON, MASS.

KIT-CAT PICTURES—What are kit-cat pictures? Where did the term originate?

CHAMBERLAIN

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

"PERFECTION NO TRIFLE"—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers inform me who said, "Trifles make perfection, and perfection is no trifle"?

M. P. BURTON
RALEIGH, N. C.

REPLIES

WOODEN SWORDS [xxi. 344]—The very ancient Mexicans are said to have gone to war with wooden swords that they might not kill their enemies. It is supposed to have been the Toltecs, a race of people from the north, who in the beginning of the seventh century descended into the valley and settled there. They seem to have lived quietly for some five hundred years, were humane and partly civilized, and devoted to agriculture and the mechanic arts. They were finally overcome by the Aztecs, a fierce, warlike race.

M. P. W.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

FAIRY AUTHORS [xx. 158]—Homer's *Iliad*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Gray's *Elegy*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, are among the authors' names in history which suggest their chief work. In American history, Bryant's *Thanatopsis* is an example, although the great American poet never looked upon that youthful production as one of his best, however much his early fame rested upon it.

PELHAM

THE HUGUENOTS—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In reply to a recent query [xx. 249], there were two prominent personages who escaped the

massacre of St. Bartholomew: one was the Protestant Henry of Navarre, afterward Henry IV.; and the other, the duke of Condé, the leader of the Huguenot party.

They escaped by attending mass and pretending to become Catholics.

M. E. POOLE

ITHACA, NEW YORK.

THE LAST SURVIVING SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION [xxi. 521, xxii. 80, xxii. 170]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Referring to your correspondence under this head, I wrote to my friend, General George S. Batcheller, assistant-treasurer of the United States, asking him to go over to the pension office and, for the sake of truth, find out *exactly who was the last surviving pensioner of the Revolution*. In response to my request he did so; and this is his reply: ". . . It appears by the records of the pension office that Daniel F. Bakeman was the last pensioner; he died April 15, 1869, at the age of one hundred and nine years. John Gray (mentioned in the August number of the Magazine) died March 28, 1869, at the age of one hundred and five years; and Samuel Downing died two years before Gray."

This, therefore, may be deemed *conclusive*.

WILLIAM L. STONE
JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS.

SOCIETIES

THE MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its semi-annual meeting at Cuddeback park, on the 22d of July, in commemoration of the battle of Minisink, fought one hundred and ten years ago. The party numbered about six hundred. The meeting was called to order at eleven o'clock A. M. by President Rev. S. W. Mills, D.D., and the general business was transacted. A dinner followed, and interesting exercises occupied the afternoon. Mr. C. E. Cuddeback addressed the meeting, presenting a carefully prepared review of the early history of this region. He said : "Prior to the French and Indian war of 1755, peace and prosperity had reigned in the Minisink settlements. For more than sixty years the settlers had lived on friendly terms with their Indian neighbors. They had purchased from them lands, and by equitable dealing had maintained their respect and confidence. The settlement rapidly extended its limits, and at this time occupied nearly all the bottom land from Peenpack to the Water Gap. Here, in the fertile valleys of the Neversink and the Delaware, had been established four church organizations. A young man from the number had been selected to be their minister. At their joint expense he was sent to Holland to be educated—prepared for his life-work. In 1741 he returned duly licensed to preach by the classis of Amsterdam, and for fourteen years he taught among them the faith of their fathers. Here then existed in this western wilderness a veritable Arcadia. Suddenly, and in consequence of a for-

sign war, a fearful change came over these peaceful scenes. The Indians who had been their friends became the enemies of the settlers, and at once there followed a campaign of fire and blood, which forced many to flee from their former habitations, broke up their religious services, compelled their minister to seek his safety in flight, and, when he renewed his ministrations, to locate in a less exposed location. Of all these things we find a trace in the official documents of the day."

An original poem was read by Peter Wells, Esq., and Rev. A. S. Gardiner delivered the closing address, and his scholarly effort was highly appreciated.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular quarterly meeting on Tuesday evening, July 16, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The reports of the secretary and librarian were read, giving interesting information.

The president then introduced Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, who read two chapters from her forthcoming romance, *The Story of Tonty*. The first, the scene of which was laid in Montreal, describes the meeting of La Salle with Jeanne de Ber ; the last, entitled "The Undespairing Norman," contains an account of the effect upon Tonty of the news of the assassination of La Salle, and the apparition of the latter to his faithful lieutenant at Starved Rock. At the close of the reading, on motion of General McClurg, the thanks of the society were tendered Mrs. Catherwood for the rare literary treat.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

Some interesting data have recently been favored us concerning the progress of education among the Cherokee Indians. There are over one hundred schools in successful operation in that quarter of the world under the control of a board of education. Thirty-five per cent. of all the revenues of the Cherokee nation are devoted to school purposes, and now there is a balance in this fund of \$45,755. The Cherokees also support an orphan asylum and an institution for the deaf, dumb, and blind. There is a flourishing seminary which was established in 1850, where young men are fitted to enter the sophomore class of any eastern college. The Cherokee maidens are also provided with opportunities for advanced education in a seminary which the nation has provided for them. The girls' institution was founded in 1850, but it was suspended in 1861 and not reopened again until 1876. Two years ago this building was unfortunately burned, and a new one has since been erected, which throws open its doors for pupils August 26 of the present year.

Concerning this Indian seminary for girls the Kansas City *Times* says: "One hundred and twenty-four Cherokee maidens have applied for admission to the new seminary, and but thirteen out of one hundred and six rooms remain to be filled to crowd the institution. The building, which presents a fine architectural appearance, stands on an eminence just north of Tahlequah, and overlooking wooded hills and a long stretch of valley. A park of eight acres surrounds it. This is now being laid out artistically, and when the landscape gardening is finished will be decidedly attractive. It looks like a \$200,000 institution, but its actual cost has been only \$78,000. It is of brick, three stories in height, and is two hundred and forty-six feet long by ninety-six feet deep. At the east end is a wing having a width of about seventy feet and running back one hundred feet. The interior finish is all in native pine, the walls white, and a lighter and airier school building can nowhere be found. The entrance hall is a study in tile and brick, a large fireplace being at the right. A broad hall runs the entire length of the building on each floor. To the left of the main entrance, taking up the entire front of the west wing, is the chapel. In the right wing are double parlors, one to be finished in the highest style of art, the other with rustic furniture. In the rear on the first floor are commodious class-rooms and the superintendent's room and a large library room; in the wing the dining-room, which will comfortably seat one hundred and eighty, a kitchen, storerooms, etc. The table and silver ware are of the best. An elevator is supplied for lifting trunks, and a dumb-waiter runs from the dining-room to the third floor. The school furniture is of the most approved pattern, and in furnishings expense has not been spared."

In all its appointments and arrangements this Cherokee seminary for girls seems a model institution. The principal is Miss Florence Wilson, a white woman who has long resided among the Cherokees. The only other white teacher is Miss Leib. The music teacher is a daughter of Professor S. S. Stevens, the superintendent, who is a native Cherokee and prominent in all educational affairs. The other teachers are Cherokees.

The pupils are charged \$5 a month—a nominal sum, truly, for such advantages. "But," says our informant, "the Cherokee nation goes further than this to educate its children. The entire third floor of the wing is very cosily fitted up as a dormitory, where those unable to pay have a neat little apartment and are boarded and educated free of cost, no distinction being made between them and the pay pupils. These poor children are known officially as indigents—a name which might well be dropped by this nation in this connection.

The building is heated by steam and supplied with hot and cold water throughout, the boiler-house being some distance away. It is expected that it will be lighted by electricity, but bids have been slow in coming in. The upper stories are devoted exclusively to teachers' and students' rooms, and very pleasant all of them are. They are each supplied with bed, mattress, wash-stand, and chair. The pupils furnish the rest themselves. Already some of the rooms have been richly carpeted and furnished, and there promises to be quite a strife among the girls in the decorations of their rooms. Four large baggage rooms are provided, and there are marble-fitted washrooms on each floor."

A feature in the education of boys which is new, at least in its practical application, attracts our attention nearer home. Its chief characteristic is the absence of books in the daily school routine. The boys are all of tender years, beginners, as it were, in school life, from eight to twelve years or thereabouts. They are taken into the fields and woods and brought face to face with nature. Their curiosity to know of the objects around them is excited and gratified by their teacher, who accompanies them in their excursions and directs their investigations. Afterward, when they desire to know more about the things existing in the world, books are put at their command; but these must be asked for, not forced upon them. This system will develop the boys physically, but by no means relieve them from study; on the contrary it compels a great deal of study. The stimulus, however, is a pleasant one, and learning is made more interesting than by the ordinary processes. Boys naturally hate books and lessons, because they are tiresome. Books to them are tools, and often so big and clumsy that they do not know how to use them, and lessons are worse than punishments. They must commit to memory hundreds of dry words which carry no meaning to their young minds—which represent to them absolutely nothing but so many consecutive sounds.

The question of course arises, "How, then, are boys to be taught what every educated man is expected to know?" Dr. B. F. O'Conner, of Columbia college, New York, has prepared himself to solve this problem in a practical fashion. He says, "The faculties the boy possesses must be strengthened, not an attempt made to create faculties which ought not to appear till six or eight years later." Dr. O'Conner believes in trying to promote the growth of all the faculties of the boy at the same time—intellectual, moral, and physical. To this end he has established a school on a picturesque and healthful island-peninsula of about eighty acres in extent, situated a mile and a half from Glen Cove, on Long Island Sound, and about one hour's railway ride from New York city. Here he proposes to inaugurate a system that will absolutely develop the minds of the boys intrusted to his care, and educate their bodies in unison. The scheme is commendable, and those who have sons to educate will do well to investigate the varied features of this unique institution.

BOOK NOTICES

ILLINOIS, HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL, comprising the essential facts of its planting and growth as a province, county, territory, and state. By JOHN MOSES. Vol. I., illustrated, 8vo, pp. 551. Chicago: Ferguson Printing Company, 1889.

The great state of Illinois, which comprises a larger territory than England, and has several counties almost or quite as extensive as the state of Rhode Island, has found in Mr. Moses a conscientious and accomplished historian, a scholar and investigator admirably fitted for this particular work through fifty years' residence in the state and from a long and varied experience in the judicial, legislative, and administrative departments of public life. He is at present the secretary and librarian of the Chicago Historical Society. The first volume of this history treats at considerable length of the beginnings of the state—the early explorations, missionaries, French government, Indian forays, British claims and rule, capture by Virginia under George Rogers Clark, the Spanish expedition into Illinois, the organization of the region into a territory of the United States, and its admission as a state into the Union. The progress of the state until 1847 is also carefully traced, and the second volume, which is nearly ready, will bring the narrative down to date.

Mr. Moses has had access to many documents not hitherto published, and has been able, through the judicious handling of fresh material, to present new facts and recent events in such accessible form and manner that they may be readily consulted and employed in every field of labor, professional as well as mercantile, official as well as manual. It is an exceptionally valuable contribution to American history. Concerning the success of the enterprise of Clark, the author says: "Had the undertaking never been conceived, or had it failed, American possession and control of the great northwest might never have been realized, and the treaty of 1783 might have named as the western boundary of the new nation the ridge of the Alleghanies rather than the channel of the Mississippi." The Chicago massacre in 1812 is treated fully, also the boundary controversies and the establishment of government. The tenth general assembly of Illinois convened in 1836. Mr. Moses writes: "It was one of the most remarkable bodies of law-makers which ever assembled in the legislative halls of Illinois or of any other state. Not only in numerical strength did it surpass all preceding legislatures, but none of its successors has even approached it in respect of intellectual calibre, nor has the roll of any included so many names destined to

become historic in the annals not only of the state but of the nation. Here sat side by side Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas." Nearly a page of well-known names is given, such as John Logan, the father of General John A. Logan; Richard M. Cullom, father of Senator Cullom; O. H. Browning, a prospective senator and future cabinet officer; Colonel John J. Hardin, William L. D. Ewing, and the gallant Edward Dickinson Baker.

At the date the first volume closes, the author tells us that "Illinois was in a crude and undeveloped condition. She had not yet come under the magic influence of the electric telegraph nor of the steam railway which she was soon to feel, and had received but little benefit from the inventive genius of the American mechanic. Chicago, already the largest city in the state, could boast only a population of 16,859. The next largest city was Quincy, reaching about 6,000, with Galena and Peoria not far behind. There were but five daily and forty-five weekly papers published in the state. But two of the state benevolent institutions had been established, and those on a small scale. The land was still plowed by the cast-iron plow with wooden mold board, the corn planted by hand, the golden grain gathered by sickle or cradle, threshed by flail or horse power, and winnowed by hand." We shall look for the issue of the second volume with great interest.

THE HAKES FAMILY GENEALOGY. By HARRY HAKES, M.D. Second edition, with additions and corrections, 8vo, pp. 220. 1889. Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania.

We had the pleasure of noticing Dr. Hakes's first volume of this genealogical study, in March, 1887; in which we predicted that through such a creditable beginning, the author would obtain further valuable information in a variety of directions involving a revised edition. Such has proved to be the case. Investigations have stimulated further interesting investigations, and many recently discovered names will be found arranged in their proper places in the new volume; important omissions are supplied and errors corrected, with added data of great worth which might never have come to light but for the former issue. The plan of this genealogical work is an excellent one, and seems to have been original with Dr. Hakes. The generations are traced in only the male line of descent, and every statement is so clearly expressed that the future historian will have no excuse for ambiguously mixing the generations. One of the notable results of the publication of the first edition of this genealogy was the establishment

of an annual family reunion. Thus after a lapse of one hundred or more years the living of many branches of the Hakes family were for the first time brought face to face. A finely engraved portrait of the author forms the frontispiece to the volume, of which a few copies are for sale at \$3 in cloth, or \$5 in one-half morocco binding.

HISTORY OF THE NORTH MEXICAN STATES AND TEXAS. Vol. II. 1801-1889. [The Works of HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.] San Francisco, 1889. The History Company. Mr. Frank M. Derby. General Agent, 149 Church Street, New York.

This volume opens with a very interesting chapter, entitled, "Texas claimed by the United States," the period under discussion being 1800-1810; and the account of how the neutral territory became the asylum of a large number of desperadoes and marauders, who organized themselves into a community under a system not dissimilar to that of the old buccaneers, reads like fiction. These land pirates preyed upon all who came in their way, and had their rules and regulations, their headquarters and their outposts. The Spanish authorities made every effort to eject them, and twice the forces of the United States drove them off and burned their houses. But they were not suppressed. During the greater part of the next decade the condition of Texas was deplorable. All efforts failed to occupy and colonize that country by force of arms. Later on a colonization scheme found favor, and industrious colonists from the United States came into some of the productive localities, bringing with them the principles of law, liberty, and religion which prevailed in the country of their birth. But the suspicious Mexicans thought all this pointed toward future annexation to the northern republic. Their oppression exasperated the colonists. Then came revolts.

The whole history of Texas is exciting in the superlative degree, but no chapter in this volume is more stirring than the tenth, entitled, "The Alamo and Goliad Massacres," in 1836, unless it may be the following chapter, "Santa Anna's Humiliation." We then come to "The Republic of Texas," which soon presented to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a nation voluntarily surrendering its nationality, of a sovereign people laying down its sceptre of autonomy, and Texas became one of the United States. The events of the war between Mexico and the United States are narrated in another volume; but the effects of that war, the progress of settlements, and the part which Texas played in the late civil war, are traced with care in these pages. The twentieth chapter relates to "Institutional and Educational Matters," and "Industries,

Commerce, and Railroads" form the subject of the twenty-first chapter. The author says: "Although older than any of the more northern Pacific states, Texas has developed more slowly, and has avoided many of their mistakes. The great curse of California is not here entailed. The people are still freemen, and the lawmakers and public officials are their servants. A system of free schools in Texas has firmly fixed itself in public esteem. Short as has been her life, the commonwealth of Texas has had a varied experience; first, as the borderland of contending colonies, then a lone republic, as member of the great federation, member of the southern confederacy, and, finally, reinstated as one of the still unbroken Union. The annals of her career are replete with stories of romantic events, and persevering struggles to shake off the leaden weight of impeding influences and elevate herself to the proud level of advancing civilization."

THE WASHINGTONS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH WARTON. By HENRY WHITMAN. Square 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 18. With pedigree of the Washington family. Damrell & Upham, Boston. E. and J. L. Milner, Lancaster, England.

This little brochure treats of a subject of permanent and general interest, particularly in view of the traditions and controversies concerning the Washington family. Its purpose is to show that "Warton" was one of the original "homes" of the Washingtons. A picture is given of the old mansion, and also of the Washington "Arms" on the Warton church, about eight miles north of Lancaster. The author thinks that the immediate ancestors of President Washington lived at this place, and from here emigrated to America in 1659, and introduces some interesting arguments to support his belief. The pedigree of the Washington family is one of the notable features of the work.

CHICKAMAUGA. [Noted Battles for the Union.] By JOHN B. TURCHIN. Illustrated with eight maps. 8vo, pp. 295. Chicago, 1888: Fergus Printing Co.

The author of this work was born and educated in Russia, and was in the campaigns with the Imperial Guards during the Hungarian war in 1848-1849, and the Crimean war of 1854-1856. He came to this country and was one of the most thoroughly trained, intrepid commanders in our late civil war. In this historical work before us he writes of what he saw and was a part of—giving a vivid narrative of the movements of the contending armies in 1863. His chief purpose has been to decipher the campaign and the battle of Chickamauga, in order to ex-

plain its various phases in the light of military science. He says: "It was one of the most diversified and complicated campaigns known. There was a large river to be crossed in the face of the enemy; there were several lofty ranges of mountains, 2,000 feet in height, to be crossed on roads as rugged and precipitous as can be imagined, principally through an exceedingly wild and sparsely populated country, deficient in forage and water; there was an unavoidable scattering of our forces, and imminent danger of their being destroyed in detail, without any possibility of their supporting each other if attacked; there was a fierce attack made by the enemy before it could be formed in a proper position; there was an unpremeditated battle, which continued for almost a whole day, in which the army, not being in position, was obliged to fight by piecemeal—without any pre-arranged plan—but simply for its existence; there was another battle fought during the next day, when the army was in a faulty position, that gave great advantage to the enemy's attacks; there was a complete rout of the entire half of that army, resulting in broken and shapeless lines and tremendous losses; and, finally, there was a wonderful courage and unsurpassed heroism displayed by the rank and file, which stood all that bloody ordeal and returned all the blows of the enemy with fearful interest, then deliberately withdrew from the field of slaughter three miles to the rear, as if only to pick up its stragglers, and in the morning again presented a defiant front to the enemy, who dared not then or afterward attack it." Of this gigantic struggle the author has drawn a picture of surpassing interest. He says: "Notwithstanding the most fearful odds that were against the army of the Cumberland, its soldiers, as the fighting representatives of the people of the north, developed in the highest degree those staying qualities of character which dangers cannot quail nor reverses subdue. In that battle the Northern soldier showed conspicuously what a heroic defender of the institutions and freedom of this Republic the people had in him. He proved on that battlefield, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that in a dark hour the country could implicitly rely on him."

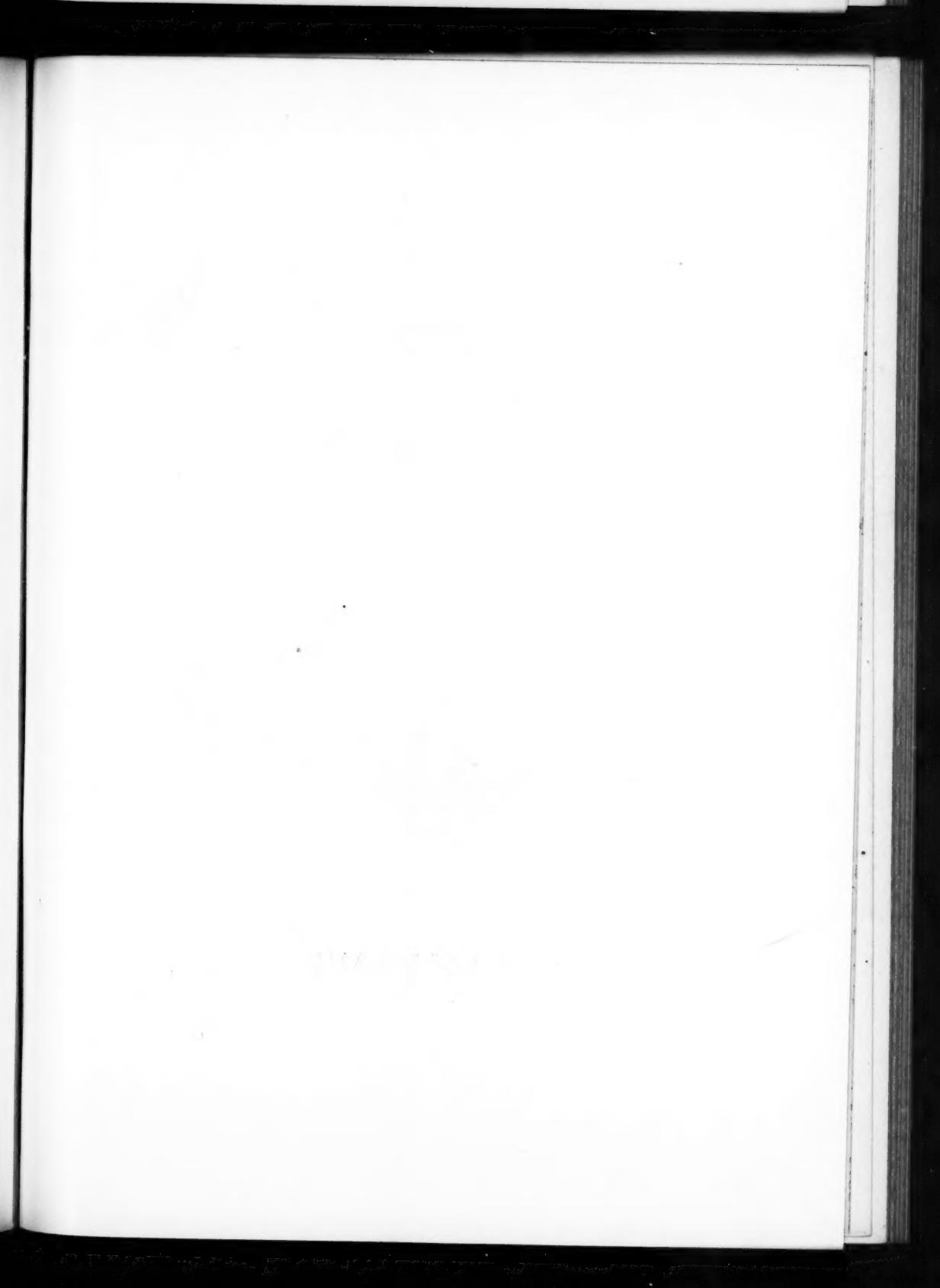
BIRTHDAY OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT. Celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Adoption of the first Constitution of the State of Connecticut, 1639-1889, by the Connecticut Historical Society, and the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, Thursday, January 24, 1889. 8vo, pp. 98. Hartford, 1889: Connecticut Historical Society.

This memorial of the celebration of a notable event in American history contains the several

addresses delivered on the occasion, and many of the letters of regret which were received from distinguished men who were unable to be present. The Rev. Joseph H. Twichell described in a masterly manner the convention which met in the town meeting-house in Hartford, in 1639, to provide a permanent general government for a people, in which the people all took part—the first assemblage of its kind in the world. He said: "Two hundred and fifty years ago to-day there were assembled in this town a company of men, probably somewhat above two hundred in number, the same being the body of the male adults of the three plantations of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford, constituting the Connecticut colony, then less than three years old. They were present in their capacity of freemen of their several towns, and for the purpose of framing for themselves 'an orderly and decent government.' The Connecticut constitution of 1639 was the first, the original, practical assertion on earth of a democratic idea of government, of the principle that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' In none other of the American colonies had this principle, at that time, any place." The eloquence that thrilled the audience in the old Hartford church was worthy of the occasion, and it would be well for our young students in American history to read each address which has been permanently preserved in this record of an impressive celebration. The story of "the planting of a state is generally one of adventure and heroism," said Mr. John Hooker, "and we read it as we would a romance—when mere temporal advantage was the ruling motive. But the subject becomes one of profound interest when there has predominated a great moral purpose, such as entered into the planting of our state and of all New England. These noble founders were wise men in their day, and we may study the history of the time for the mere wisdom that it teaches. But we miss its great lesson if we do not study, and understand, and become inspired by, the spirit of those grand men."

THE TRAGICAL HISTORY OF AARON BURR. A play written by LEON DEL MONTE. 16mo, pp. 82. 1889. Cincinnati.

This play reveals an unusual amount of historic study and embraces thirty-one characters. It is a powerful dramatic work, and if produced with a proper caste, promises to prove one of the great successes of the century. It opens with a stirring conversation following the announcement that Alexander Hamilton had been shot in a duel by Aaron Burr. Burr appears upon the scene, and arrangements are made for his escape from New York city. Burr's remarkable career is followed from that hour, with marked ability; his Mexican scheme is well portrayed.





John Muir

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THE ROMANTIC BEGINNINGS OF MILWAUKEE

THE Indians chose the site of the prosperous city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A pretty, straw-like village of wigwams might have been seen during the first quarter of the present century, cosily nestled among the scattered trees at the southerly side of the Milwaukee river, near the lake shore, where the indentation forms a bay six miles wide and three miles deep, easy of access at all seasons of the year. The Pottawatomies dwelt here, a nation that is said to have been known by this name (variously spelled) some two hundred and fifty years. Possibly there was some poetry in the savage nature, a certain love for the beautiful which attracted them here. At all events they could hardly have selected this charming hunting ground at random. From the tops of the bold round bluffs, which had just timber enough to shade them well, they could scan the lake stretching off in the distance to the east, look down upon the river winding in from the west like a silver thread, and catch a glimpse in the far away of the boundless prairies carpeted with green, and variegated with the wild rose, the blue-bell, the tiger lily, and other bright-colored flowers. These Indians were less quarrelsome than some of the tribes, and were fond of trading. Their habits were partially civilized, they had something of a religious philosophy, and their language was musical. It was their fascinating traditions which inspired some of Longfellow's beautiful poems, notably "Hiawatha," formed the basis of Mark R. Harrison's fine historical painting, and furnished the theme for several European essays. The Menomonees lived at the same time on the northerly side of the Milwaukee river, although their village was not as compact; and portions of several scattering tribes were located in the vicinity.

Missionaries and traders from Canada found this harbor convenient, but no one came to stay and establish a trading-post until Jean Baptist Mirandeau appeared, a few years prior to the close of the last century. He was an educated Frenchman of good family, who had been disappointed in a romantic love affair, and emigrated to Quebec, resolved to commence anew in the wilderness of America—and it is said his fickle "sweet-